A DETERMINATION OF THE MAJOR SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN LIFE

By

JOHN A. HOCKETT

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FOREWORD

The question, what should be taught, is ever of fundamental significance to the school. Much evidence of a relatively objective nature concerning the materials and activities of the curriculum has been produced by the investigations of educational students during the past fifteen years. Some of these studies have dealt with the aims and objectives of education. Others have been concerned with the topics, events, or specific facts of greatest relative importance. Still other researches have sought to discover the most effective methods of organizing the materials of instruction. Conflicting theories and varied practices indicate that the final answer to these problems has not yet been given.

The present monograph reports an investigation designed to contribute to this growing body of knowledge. Its aim is to furnish to those persons who deal with education for citizenship a list of the more important problems and issues of social, political, and economic life in contemporary America. All formulations of educational aims include the development of citizenship. Most educational leaders grant that adequate civic education must include a study of the problems and issues of society. The writer hopes, therefore, that the results presented will be of service to curriculum-makers and teachers who wish to include in the course of study in the social sciences a consideration of America's crucial problems.

The writer is greatly indebted to Dr. Harold Rugg for counsel and assistance of many kinds in the prosecution of this study. He wishes also to acknowledge with appreciation the helpful suggestions of Dr. Otis W. Caldwell, Dr. Percival M. Symonds, Dr. Daniel H. Kulp, II, and Dr. Robert B. Raup.

J. A. H.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

THE NEED FOR THE STUDY

Citizens of the modern industrial world are confronted with social problems of tremendous difficulty and grave import. Students of contemporary society, at home and abroad, warn us that the gross size, the intricate complexity, and the increasingly dynamic character of our civilization threaten to outrun our collective ability to control the forces which determine the welfare and happiness of hundreds of millions of human beings.

Simultaneously, educators and sociologists alike insist that education is now, as never before, the great constructive agency of civilization. They point out that the unique opportunity and obligation of the school are to develop a body of citizens not only well disposed to coöperate in beneficent activity for the common good, but also intelligent in regard to the conditions, institutions, and customs which delimit and express their collective life. It is important, they urge, that the youth in our schools be brought to an adequate understanding of the Great Society in which they live. It is essential, they insist, that the young people in the classrooms of the nation should acquire effective knowledge of the crucial problems and issues, which, as citizens of a democratic commonwealth, they must face, and in some way attempt to solve.

The following statement, subscribed to by the twelve eminent members of the committee on curriculum-making of the National Society for the Study of Education, forcefully expresses the obligation of the school "to consider definitely the merits and deficiencies of American civilization."

They write:

> It is of increasing moment, that our educational agencies be organized for the task of bringing children to a progressive understanding of their responsibility for social progress and of the problems, practices, and institutions of social life. Throughout their school careers, pupils should be given opportunities to think about these problems and institutions, to

develop attitudes of understanding and tolerance, and to perfect habits of right conduct and creative self-expression. Because other agencies—such as the typical American home, the press, the church, the platform—cannot exert an adequate educational influence for social improvement, it is imperative that the systematic curriculum of our schools shall consider definitely the problems of economic, political, social, and individual life. Only through frequent and definite practice in clear thinking and right feeling about these problems and issues can children grow in the power to meet them.[1]

If such a diagnosis of the present situation as that briefly sketched is correct, then it would seem an educational problem of no mean importance to determine, by as valid means as possible, which are the salient problems of contemporary society.

THE PURPOSE

The purpose of the investigation herein reported is to discover and report some of the more significant problems and issues of political, economic, and social life in America to-day. It is expected that the results presented will aid those who influence the selection of the activities and materials of the school curriculum—administrators, textbook writers, curriculum-specialists, and teachers. The results will supply these educationists with material which, if utilized in the light of our best educational theory, will aid them so to organize the course of study that pupils may grow in understanding of, and the power to grapple with, the paramount issues and problems of civilized life.

A STUDY OF WHAT TO TEACH

The school deals with two fundamental factors—child and society. Its aims, methods, and materials are controlled by these two elemental entities. Of late, much effort has been expended in studying the nature of the child and the process by which he learns. At the same time, analyses have been made of the essential elements in the social heritage in order that the activities of the school shall better prepare the child for happy and useful participation in the life of the community. The present investigation is one of the latter type; it contributes evidence to the answer to the question of what to teach, particularly in the social studies.

[1] *The Twenty-sixth Yearbook of the Society for the Study of Education*, 1926, Part II, page 15.

UNDERLYING ASSUMPTIONS

The prosecution of such a study as the one here presented necessarily implies certain points of view—specific assumptions regarding the need for it, and the value of its results. Having been somewhat vaguely implied in preceding paragraphs, let these assumptions be explicitly stated:

1. It is assumed that in a democratic commonwealth the majority of citizens need to understand the society in which they live, and the problems which face it.
2. It is postulated, further, that the degree of social understanding now possessed by the rank and file of citizens is insufficient.
3. There is implied the assumption that citizens in general will never develop and exercise an adequate measure of socio-civic ability unless the beginnings are laid in school activities and curricula; i.e., that social efficiency is one aim of education.
4. The hypothesis is made that a large proportion of the population is capable of greater social understanding than it now possesses.
5. It is taken for granted that intelligently directed, collective effort can influence the course of social development.

Two sources have been utilized as criteria for determining significant societal problems and issues: (1) selected critical books of social analysts; and (2) a record of the events of American life in recent years as reported in news columns and editorial comments. The method employed in the selection of these sources, and the techniques utilized in the analysis of the materials are described in Chapters II and III.

CHAPTER II

PROCEDURE

THE FIRST CRITERION: DIAGNOSIS OF CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS BY SOCIAL ANALYSTS

SELECTION OF THE CRITERION

Criteria for evaluating curriculum materials must always be determined by the nature of the subject matter dealt with. Such simple elements of tool subjects as spelling words and arithmetical operations may be validly determined by tabulations of the frequency, universality, and cruciality with which those elements are used in the individual and social activities of life. The relative importance in the curriculum of map locations may be measured by the strategic significance of those locations in the daily affairs of society and of the individual, and may be determined by analysis of the mass activities of mankind.

A social problem is not, however, a specific, concrete entity as is a spelling word or a number combination. It is true that social *facts* and *conditions* are often specific and concrete. Statistics of social events and phenomena are objective. But these are not problems. A social problem exists when the human mind makes the judgment that certain social conditions or the relationships existing between certain social facts are unsatisfactory. A Robot might compile political and economic statistics throughout eternity without ever recognizing a social problem. Such problems do not exist *per se*. A point of view, a standard of reference is required, and a judgment—a leap, not in the dark, but in the best light possible—is demanded. Determining social problems is a normative, not an exact, science.

At least two courses are open to one attempting to discover the important social problems of the present time. A mass of facts about social conditions might be collected. These facts might be studied, and an attempt be made to interpret them, postulating certain problems and issues based upon the interpre-

tation. But the ramifications of social problems are extremely diverse. Conditions from which they emerge involve hidden facts of group motives and drives, and of complex interrelationships in our intricate social structure. It is not likely that the interpretation and diagnosis of one individual would be entirely satisfactory.

The alternative possibility is to accept the interpretation of others. This procedure offers the advantage that the interpretation of experts may be selected, who are eminently qualified to judge the significance of social facts and events. Specialists may be chosen who have spent many years in studying, analyzing, and interpreting society—men and women who deal continually with concrete social facts and conditions, but who interpret them in the light of a rich background of experience.

Another consideration making it desirable to secure the judgment and interpretation of specialists is that this procedure offers the only possibility of being able to forecast the problems of the future. This is a matter of human prediction and, as such, is fallible. But it is the best obtainable. Unexpected contingencies and developments are sure to take place. Yet keen students of society, who critically interpret the contemporary situation in the light of its development and its present trends, are able to predict certain sureties, possibly, and alternative possibilities, surely. History never exactly repeats itself, but it can easily be assumed that causes which have led to certain results will be likely to reproduce the same effects under similar circumstances.

Kilpatrick both recognizes the need for attempting to predict the problems of the next generation and suggests the most likely means of achieving this objective when he says:

> By a proper study of society, . . . we must look as far into the future as we can to catch its problems. . . . While we cannot be sure of the precise details of future social problems—and for real education it is better so—we can within limits foretell that certain unsolved problems will press for solution.

And again:

> A proper study of "frontier" thinkers should give us the necessary knowledge of the more important social problems likely in some form or other to confront the rising generation.[1]

[1] Kilpatrick, W. H. *Education for a Changing Civilization*, pages 77, 110.

This is the procedure which is utilized in the present study.

It may be urged that to accept the judgments of men concerning the pressing social problems of our age is "unscientific." But let the possibilities of "science" in curriculum building be examined. Suppose the references to persons, places, events, dates, and other items in newspapers, magazines, books, encyclopedia articles, or elsewhere be tabulated. Has scientific perfection been reached? Is human judgment excluded? Not at all. The transcendent element in the situation is the judgment that these sources do or do not offer valid indications of what should be included in the curriculum. The most "objective" researches in curriculum content rest upon hypothetical assumptions. A "Euclidean" or a "non-Euclidean" curriculum (just as in geometry) may be developed, depending only upon the postulates with which one starts.

Astrophysicists know that the light from a distant star either is or is not bent in passing close to the sun. Their problem is to find out which condition actually exists. The educationist's problem is not primarily to discover what situations do exist in schools, but to determine what conditions *ought* to exist. The "ought" necessarily implies human judgment. Bobbitt has clearly recognized the difficulty:

> In the present mood of our profession, the word hypothesis is under suspicion. We want nothing less reliable than science . . . but we must frankly recognize that we do not have such science. . . The practical question is not whether we shall use science or hypothesis; it is rather a problem of what is the best hypothesis.[2]

In the field of the social sciences, it is possible to distinguish between two general types of specialists. There are technical experts in certain restricted fields; economists, political scientists, sociologists, social psychologists. There are other critics of society, who do not confine their attention to one particular field, but attempt to see society as a whole; who strive to develop an overview of the great forces and trends of civilization. Scholarship is essential to both groups—intensive scholarship to the former; a more extensive type to the latter. In reality, these two groups are not sharply divided. Many specialists in one field also attempt to view society as a whole, and to see their own particular fields of study in proper perspective. Many of the

[2] Bobbitt, Franklin. *How to Make a Curriculum*, page 100.

more general social critics are also specialists in one or more fields. For determining a complete and minute portrayal of the problems in one specific field, the judgments of technical experts would be invaluable. For determining the more important general (non-technical) problems of modern society, the judgment of the more critical, less specialized, social analyst is essential. This study attempts to make use of the judgments of both types of specialist. Many of the specialists whose judgments are utilized combine in part the two characteristics described.

The best source of the opinions of these social analysts would seem to be their books. There they have carefully, deliberately committed to perpetual record their most mature thoughts. There they have clearly set forth the results of their researches, their investigations, their experiences, their analyses, their predictions. This, then, is the first source in which the problems and issues of contemporary society have been sought.

SELECTION OF CRITICAL BOOKS

As a basis for the selection of books to be analyzed in this and other investigations, a list of "frontier thinkers" and their books has been built up. The following request was sent to a group of one hundred fifty specialists in the fields of government, economics, sociology, law, the press, international affairs, immigration, geography, anthropology, and the field of artistic expression:

> . . . In the Lincoln School of Teachers College, we have a research organization engaged in constructing a curriculum in the social sciences for public schools . . .
>
> Our purpose is to construct a curriculum which will prepare young people for intelligent participation in the complex and changing life of the present time. The basis for this curriculum, as we conceive it, should be the insistent, permanent problems of modern life.
>
> We propose to determine these important contemporary problems, not from our judgments, but from the analysis of critical books which represent the matured judgments of a large group of specialists. Furthermore, we do not wish to rely upon our judgments even in the selection of these books. . .
>
> Consequently, we are writing to a group of specialists asking for a selected list of books, which represent, in the highest degree, penetrating insight and critical analysis of contemporary life and problems. . .
>
> What we need from you particularly is this—a short list (say 5 to 20)

of the most penetrating books in the field of ..... (name of field inserted); books which dig deepest into problems and issues; books to which *you* would go for a fundamental analysis of contemporary life. . .

Replies and recommended lists of books were received from one hundred of these leaders in public and academic life in America; men and women who are generally recognized as eminent authorities in their respective fields. Their recommendations have been combined into a composite list of outstanding books in the social science field. This composite list has been compared with other selected lists of recommended books, such as the American Library Association's *Catalogue of Best Books* and their monthly *Booklist,* the New York State Library *Best Books,* and the Columbia University *Syllabus in Contemporary Civilization.* The books on this list are arranged in order of rank on the basis of the number of recommendations, which range from one to sixteen.

The selection of books for analysis in the present study was made with great care from this composite list, with consideration of the individual suggestions and comments contained in the replies of the specialists. All books which appeared prominently in this composite list were considered for utilization in the present investigation. The books which received the highest number of recommendations in the composite list could not, however, be blindly and arbitrarily selected for use. All of the books at the head of the composite list are excellent, scholarly works, but not all are suitable for use in such a study as the one presented here. Some of them deal with a field too restricted to be of general use in this study. Some deal with fields which are somewhat irrelevant for the purpose at hand: anthropology, legal theory, geography, international relations. Many of these excellent books are predominately descriptive and expository rather than critical. Such works have their indispensable uses, but they were not found to be valuable sources of problems and issues. If an author merely describes, but fails to evaluate, the institutions, practices, forces, movements, and tendencies which he sets forth, it will not be possible to derive from the book his conceptions of the inherent problems.

To require that the author evaluate practices and institutions which he describes does not necessarily result in the selec-

tion of books that are adversely critical toward the existing order. It means only that the author considers critically the merits and defects both of the existing situation and of proposed changes and modifications. These modifications may be either reactionary (toward the conditions of an earlier time) or progressive (in the direction of a yet unrealized ideal).

There are still other considerations which oppose the arbitrary selection of books from the top of a rank-order list. A few examples will serve to explain. Laski's *Grammar of Politics* was published in 1925, after most of the specialists' recommendations had been received. It was suggested by Professor Hayes and Professor Laski. But Mr. Laski's earlier books, *Authority in the Modern State* and *Problems of Sovereignty,* were each suggested by five specialists. Professor Laski was thus recognized as a "frontier thinker." The fact that *A Grammar of Politics* was too recent to be widely known, and that Mr. Laski himself suggested it rather than the earlier books, together with the fact that it is a larger and more complete work, seemed to justify its selection.

A similar situation existed in regard to Mr. Lippmann's books. His *Public Opinion,* recommended by seven specialists, stood high on the list. Consequently, it was selected, and half of the book was studied. But it was found to deal with such a restricted field and to point out so few problems, that it was discarded in favor of his *Preface to Politics.* The latter was recommended by fewer specialists, perhaps because it had been published a few years earlier and was not so recently in their minds.

The twenty-two books which were selected for analysis are listed in Table I. A list of the names of the specialists who recommended each of these books is given in Table V in the Appendix.

Many books were tentatively selected for analysis, and several partially analyzed, which proved unsuitable for the present purpose. These were, as has been stated, discarded if they proved to be systematic and encyclopedic, instead of selective; expository and descriptive rather than critical; or if they were found to deal with a field too restricted for the purposes of the study, or to deal with a field which was outside the scope of the investigation. An incomplete list of the books considered for analysis, but discarded for the reasons enumerated, is given in Table II.

TABLE I

BOOKS ANALYZED IN STUDY OF PROBLEMS AND ISSUES OF CONTEMPORARY LIFE

BRYCE, JAMES. *Modern Democracies.* Two volumes; 1184 pages, 1921.
CARVER, T. N. *Essays in Social Justice.* 429 pages, 1915.
CROLY, HERBERT. *The Promise of American Life.* 468 pages, 1915.
FOLLETT, MARY. *The New State.* 373 pages, 1918.
HOBHOUSE, R. T. *Elements of Social Justice.* 247 pages, 1922.
HOBSON, J. A. *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism.* 488 pages, 1916.
HOWE, F. C. *Revolution and Democracy.* 238 pages, 1921.
IRELAND, ALLEYNE. *Democracy and the Human Equation.* 251 pages, 1921.
LASKI, H. J. *A Grammar of Politics.* 672 pages, 1925.
LIPPMANN, WALTER. *A Preface to Politics.* 318 pages, 1913.
LOWELL, A. L. *Public Opinion and Popular Government.* 415 pages, 1913.
MACDONALD, A. RAMSAY. *Socialism and Government.* Two volumes; 199 and 176 pages, 1909.
RATHENAU, WALTHER. *The New Society.* 147 pages, 1921.
ROBINSON, J. H. *The Mind in the Making.* 235 pages, 1921.
RUSSELL, BERTRAND. *Proposed Roads to Freedom.* 218 pages, 1919.
RUSSELL, BERTRAND AND DORA. *The Prospects of Industrial Civilization.* 287 pages, 1923.
TAWNEY, RICHARD. *The Acquisitive Society.* 188 pages, 1920.
VEBLEN, THORSTEIN. *The Theory of Business Enterprise.* 400 pages, 1904.
WALLAS, GRAHAM. *The Great Society.* 383 pages, 1914.
WEBB, SIDNEY AND BEATRICE. *The Decay of Capitalist Civilization.* 242 pages, 1923.
WEYL, WALTER. *The New Democracy.* 370 pages, 1912.
ZIMMERN, ALFRED. *Nationality and Government.* 364 pages, 1919.

As an illustration of the care with which the field was searched for critical books, it may be mentioned that over two hundred pages of Beard's *American Government and Politics* were read before it was finally laid aside as too descriptive and expository and not sufficiently critical. The whole of his *Economic Basis of Politics* was read, but not one problem or issue was found to be clearly stated by the author. Careful investigation was made of the remaining books listed in Table II, as well as of others.

FIELDS AND PERIOD OF TIME REPRESENTED BY THE SELECTED BOOKS

Attempts to separate the books of Table I into lists dealing, respectively, with problems of government, problems of industry and business, and broader social problems are almost fruitless. The books of Bryce, Follett, Ireland, Laski, Lowell, and MacDonald do deal primarily with political life. Those of Carver, Hobson, Rathenau, Tawney, Veblen, and Webb direct

TABLE II

TYPICAL BOOKS CONSIDERED FOR ANALYSIS BUT DISCARDED FOR SPECIFIC REASONS

ANGELL, NORMAN. *The Fruits of Victory.*
BEARD, C. A. *American Government and Politics.*
BEARD, C. A. *Economic Basis of Politics.*
BECKER, CARL. *The United States, an Experiment in Democracy.*
BRAILSFORD, H. N. *The War of Steel and Gold.*
CHAFFEE, ZECHARIAH. *Freedom of Speech.*
CLAY, HENRY. *Economics for the General Reader.*
COLE, G. D. H. *Social Theory.*
COOLEY, C. H. *Human Nature and the Social Order.*
FRIDAY, DAVID. *Profits, Wages, and Prices.*
HOXIE, R. F. *Trade Unionism.*
LIPPMANN, WALTER. *Public Opinion.*
MERRIAM, C. A. *American Political Ideas.*
MOULTON, H. G. *Financial Organization of Society.*
OSTROGARSKI, N. J. *Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties.*
PIGOU, A. C. *Economics of Welfare.*

attention primarily to the economic structure of the Great Society. They are, however, vitally concerned with the social, political, and cultural implications of the industrial organization of modern life. Few of the problems of government and of industry are essentially separate. This is realized in the everyday life of politics and business. The connection is seen to be even more intimate in a fundamental examination of the nature of social justice. Sharp boundary lines do not exist out on the frontier of thought. In most of the books studied, the discussion necessarily involves the problems both of political and economic life. And, in virtually every case, the social and cultural implications are, in consequence, included.

It would seem desirable that the books utilized in an investigation of this nature should represent a fairly long period of time but should, in general, be recent works. The distribution by years of the books selected is as follows: Hobson's *Evolution of Modern Capitalism* was first written in 1894, but was revised in 1906 and again in 1916. Veblen's *Theory of Business Enterprise* first appeared in 1904, MacDonald's *Socialism and Government* in 1909, and Croly's *The Promise of American Life* in 1909. Six books represent the period 1912-1918. The remaining twelve have appeared since 1918, Laski's *A Grammar of Politics* (1925) being the most recent.

METHOD OF ANALYSIS OF THE BOOKS

Each of the twenty-two books [3] listed in Table I was carefully read by the writer, and a record was made on a slip of paper of every problem or issue stated or clearly implied by the author. The procedure was to read a chapter through, marking "P" or "I" in the margin opposite the indication of each problem or issue, and then to go back and write the complete statement of each problem and issue. In this way, continual interruption of the thought of the chapter, which would have resulted from the frequent writing of the problems, was avoided. Also, authors frequently stress the same problem on several adjacent pages. By the procedure employed, the evidence from these different places was brought together in a single interpretation of the problem. When an indication of the same problem appeared on different pages, the "P's" recorded on the margins were related to one another by a system of subscripts.

If the author merely described an existing situation or practice, no problem was recorded. But if he indicated his approval or disapproval, if he said we must do this, or we ought to do that, or this is an undesirable condition, or we can never attain the results we desire until this stumbling block is removed, or we must guard against this danger—in other words, if he revealed the desirability or undesirability of any course of action, then the problem which he indicated was recorded. The statement of each problem by the writer was made as nearly in the words of the author as was consistent with reasonable brevity, in order that the thought of the author might be accurately preserved. With the exception of international problems not involving the United States, no problem or issue stated or clearly implied by the author was omitted in making this record.

In some instances, an author discussed a question by pointing out both its advantages and disadvantages without expressing

[3] The following omissions are to be noted:

In Bryce: *Modern Democracies,* Part 1 was omitted, consisting of chapters on "Definitions of Democracy," "Historical Evolution of Democracy," and other general considerations which are also covered in Part III. In Part III, the chapters on democracies other than those of the United States were omitted. The parts utilized were the 8 chapters on the United States and the 23 chapters of examination and criticism of democratic government.

In Laski: *Grammar of Politics,* the last part of the last chapter dealing with the League of Nations was omitted.

In Russell: *Proposed Roads to Freedom,* the first three chapters, which are strictly historical, were omitted.

his attitude toward the matter. In such cases the question was recorded as an issue.

As the problems and issues secured by this procedure were written, there was also recorded on each slip of paper the author's name and the number of the page upon which his indication of the problem appeared. The total number of slips thus filled out approximated 3,000.

A few examples, showing the recorded problems derived from typical statements of authors, will serve to clarify the method employed. It must be borne in mind, however, that the brief quotations given do not in every case make the author's point of view entirely clear.

The burden of our civilization is not merely, as many suppose, that the product of industry is ill-distributed, or its conduct tyrannical, or its operation interrupted by embittered disagreements. It is that industry, itself, has come to hold a position of exclusive predominance among human interests, which no single interest, and least of all the provision of the material means of existence, is fit to occupy. Like the hypochondriac who is so absorbed in the processes of his own digestion that he goes to his grave before he has begun to live, industrialized communities neglect the very objects for which it is worthwhile to acquire riches, in their feverish preoccupation with the means by which riches can be acquired.[4]

This was recorded as: The problem of reducing economic activity to the subordinate position among human interests that it should occupy.

Majority rule is merely one means to an extremely difficult, remote, and complicated end; and it is a piece of machinery which is peculiarly liable to get out of order. Its arbitrary and dangerous tendencies can, as a matter of fact, be checked in many effectual and legitimate ways. . .[5]

Recorded as: The problem of checking in effectual and legitimate ways the arbitrary and dangerous tendencies of majority rule.

The only cure for the evils of nationalism is the diminution of nationalism, the diversion of men's energies and sentiments from the barren business of national rivalry. . . I have no doubt that it is at present the most important task which civilization has to face.[6]

Recorded as: The problem of decreasing nationalism; diverting

[4] Tawney, Richard. *The Acquisitive Society,* pages 183-84.
[5] Croly, Herbert. *The Promise of American Life,* page 280.
[6] Russell, Bertrand and Dora. *The Prospects of Industrial Civilization,* page 20.

men's energies and sentiments from the barren business of national rivalry.

Is there any sign or criterion by which we can tell that a human society has been completely socialized? There is one and only one: it is when no one can have an income without working for it.[7]

Recorded as: The problem of so organizing our social and economic system that no one can have an income without working for it.[8]

Political parties have even less justification in municipal government where national politics have no proper place, and where their presence has fostered political abuses of the worst form.[9]

Recorded as: The problem of securing and maintaining complete separation of national and local politics.

The chief need of society to-day is an enlightened, progressive, and organized public opinion.[10]

Recorded as: The problem of developing an enlightened, progressive, and organized public opinion.

After analysis of the books was completed, the slips containing the statements of problems and issues were classified. First, all duplicate statements of the same problem by one author were thrown together, and a new and improved statement was written whenever possible. Next (2), all problems were classified by topics. All problems relating to government, for example, were thrown together; and then all that concerned the various subtopics, such as elections, officials, powers and functions, finance and taxation, were grouped together. The different problems seemed to the writer to fall most logically into certain groups and were so organized. Probably no possible classification of problems could be considered absolute and unequivocal. As is suggested elsewhere, the ramifications and interrelationships of societal problems are many. To repeat each problem under each topic to which it is related would involve tedious repetition. Therefore, the writer classified each problem under the topic and subtopic to which, in his judgment, it was most properly related.

[7] Rathenau, Walther. *The New Society*, page 7.
[8] Rathenau shows in other sentences that he believes that such a society should exist.
[9] Lowell, A. L. *Public Opinion and Popular Government*, page 133.
[10] Follett, Mary. *The New State*, page 226.

The details of the scheme of classification employed are apparent in Chapter V.

After the classification was made (3), the complete list of problems was again copied so that statements of all authors upon one problem appeared in juxtaposition.

The next step (4) was to combine the statements of the same problem by two or more authors. The problem was rewritten upon an index card in such a way as to represent as faithfully as possible the essential idea of each individual statement. Great care was taken, in this step, that no important idea be lost and that no combinations be forcibly made which did violence to the original meaning of the author. In some cases, several authors were in entire agreement upon a problem. In many instances, slightly different interpretations of the problem were made by different authors, or slightly different aspects of the problem were emphasized. Since a summarized statement of the essential problem subscribed to by several authors is more valuable as a result than several individual statements meaning virtually the same thing, a certain disregard of minor shades of meaning was frequently necessary. The writer was forced to use his judgment as to whether the different authors held essentially the same ideas. When doubt existed as to the author's meaning, reference was again made to the original discussion in the book. The combined statement often includes several shades of meaning, not all of which were stated by all the authors. This solution of the difficulty seemed better than dropping those meanings entirely or of preserving a large number of similar statements when the authors were materially in agreement. The best original phrasing of the problem or a combination of happy phrasings of different aspects of the problem was usually preserved in the final statement. If a significant difference existed between the statements of a problem by two or more authors, their statements were, of course, kept separate.

In some cases, one or more authors indicated the desirability of a definite course of action, and the matter had been recorded as a problem. But other authors exhibited opposing points of view, that is, they indicated the desirability of a course of action which was the opposite of that upheld by the first group. In such cases, when the statements of the same problem made by different authors were combined, the question was stated as an

issue. The issue of socialism is a good illustration. Bryce, Veblen, and others discuss it as an issue. Russell and Webb urge the adoption of socialism as a problem toward which men should strive. Carver vigorously attacks socialism and recognizes the problem of combatting the adoption of its proposals.

It may be urged that the statements should have been made as issues in all cases. Undoubtedly, many of the problems reported will be treated as issues in any classroom consideration they may have. Nevertheless, much of value would be lost if the statements here presented were all reduced to that form. Since the aim of the study is to discover the problems which leading thinkers regard as significant, it is important that the problems be reported as they are stated by these persons. There is danger in studies in curriculum-content that the original findings may be so summarized or classified or changed that much of their value and usefulness will be lost. The purpose in the present study is to present the complete lists of problems and issues as discovered, with only such combinations and condensations as can be effected without the loss of valuable evidence inherent in the original data. If the curriculum-maker and teacher wish to present a particular problem as an issue, they may change the wording of the statement. Or, they may present it as it stands; the pupils may then study the evidence for and against it.

As a final step, the complete list of problems and issues was again rewritten in the interest of greater brevity and conciseness. Opportunities were utilized for combining similar problems whose likenesses had been overlooked previously. This final list, with additions from the second criterion, is reported in Chapter V.

VERIFICATION OF OBJECTIVITY OF ANALYSIS

In order to form an estimate of the objectivity of the writer's interpretation of the problems and issues in the books studied, another person was asked to read selected passages and mark and record the problems and issues encountered. This person was somewhat less familiar with the field covered by the books, but was otherwise approximately equal to the writer in education and training. In the following discussion, this person will be referred to as "B," while the writer will be designated as "A." The first chapter of Wallas' *The Great Society* (17 pages), and the forty-

first chapter of Bryce, *Modern Democracies* (30 pages) were analyzed by B, following the procedure used by A. B had previously read the preceding description of the method of analysis and was familiar with the purpose and general plan of the study. These two chapters were selected because they contained a fairly large number of problems and because they could be read and understood without reading other parts of the books.

A recorded 10 separate problems and issues from the first chapter of Wallas. B recorded 9. Although the words in which they were stated varied somewhat, 7 of these problems and issues were essentially the same. A recorded 3 problems which B did not, and B recorded 2 which A did not. One of the excess problems recorded by A may be accounted for by the fact that A stated a large general problem and also a more specific one which B considered as included in the general one. The two problems recorded by B, but not by A, represent slightly more interpretation of the author's meaning than A wished to read into it.

In the forty-first chapter of Bryce, A recorded 31 problems and issues; B recorded 28. Although in most cases they were phrased somewhat differently, 24 were essentially the same. The following examples will show what is meant by essentially the same.

A recorded five of the problems and issues as follows:

1. Issue: Should an educational qualification be imposed for voting?
2. The problem of determining how soon and under what conditions the vote should be given to immigrants.
3. Issue: Should a representative be required by custom to live in the district he represents?
4. Issue: Should private bills (in Congress) be considered by a small committee rather than the whole body?
5. The problem of eliminating pork barrel abuses.

B's record of the same problems and issues follows:

1. Issue: Should an educational qualification be prescribed as a requirement for suffrage?
2. Issue: How soon should immigrants be allowed to vote?
3. Issue: Should congressmen be elected to represent constituencies other than those of the district in which they reside?
4. The problem of removing the abuse of legislation through waste and jobbery due to private bills.
5. The problem of preventing the use by congressmen of appropriations of public moneys for local causes to gain merit with constituencies.

One other problem was approximately the same. A recorded the problem of determining proper qualifications for extending the franchise to negroes. B recorded the problem of maintaining for enfranchised negroes the right to vote. In addition to these twenty-five problems and issues, B recorded three that A did not, and A recorded six that B did not. At least two of these six are minor problems. On one page (75), B recorded one rather general issue. In place of this, A stated two problems and two issues which covered the matter in greater detail.

The following conclusion seems justified by an analysis of the lists of problems recorded by A and by B. For these two individuals, the great majority of the important problems are included in essentially the same form in both lists. It is likely that a comparison of the lists derived from a whole book would reveal still closer agreement, for an author refers to many of the problems more than once in the course of the book. There is less likelihood that the reader would overlook a problem two or more times than if it were met only once.

CHAPTER III

PROCEDURE

THE SECOND CRITERION: INTERPRETATION OF PROBLEMS INHERENT IN CURRENT EVENTS

SELECTION OF THE CRITERION

An analysis of the events of American life over a period of time ought to reveal the important problems of that period. Upon this hypothesis a second criterion for the determination of contemporary problems was selected. Of course no one can, at first hand, observe all the events of our national life. One must rely upon a selected record of events and upon an interpretation of them. Various sources of records and interpretations of events were considered. Newspapers are, obviously, unsatisfactory sources, with their sensationalism, their magnifying of local events, their bias and partisanship, their extreme emphasis on items of "news" value and corresponding neglect of important but non-spectacular matters, and their very inadequate interpretation of the events they do report. The summary of events of the year given in the *World Almanac* was scrutinized but was found to possess all the deficiencies charged against the newspaper. The monthly summaries of events, editorially interpreted, as given in the *World's Work*, the *Review of Reviews*, and *Current History* were considered. These records proved to be much more satisfactory than the sources mentioned above, but seemed to offer no advantages over the sources finally selected, and in certain respects were less suitable. It was not so easy, for example, to select magazines of this type of differing degrees of conservatism and liberalism, in order to insure that many points of view would be represented.

Two sources which contain a record of the events of the day were selected for analysis. One source, a weekly summary of news items, presents the events without interpretation. The other source, editorial paragraphs in four weekly journals of

opinion, represents a certain amount of selection and interpretation.

PROBLEMS INDICATED BY WEEKLY NEWS SUMMARY

The weekly (news) summary of events given in the back pages of the *Literary Digest* headed "Current Events" was selected because of the desire for a relatively impartial and complete record of the important events of the period immediately preceding. It is not known to what extent this summary omits any events of importance. There is no doubt that some events have greater news value than other happenings of equal or greater intrinsic significance and in consequence might appear more prominently. It would seem that this disturbing influence would be largely ruled out in such a prosaic summary of events as that under consideration. There are no headlines, no elaborations, no discussions; merely such items as those given in Table III. (The dates given are those of the actual events, not of the issue of the periodical.)

TABLE III

TYPICAL ITEMS FROM THE *Literary Digest* NEWS SUMMARY

January 11, 1924. "The House Immigration Committee drafts a new immigration bill which would restrict immigration to this country on a basis of 2 per cent of the foreign citizens of each country here in 1890, with an annual minimum quota of 200 for each nation."

April 3, 1925. "The West Virginia House of Delegates rejects the proposed child labor amendment to the Federal Constitution."

April 25, 1925. "Secretary of State Kellogg advocates adherence of the United States to the World Court in an address before the Society of International Law, meeting in Washington."

May 13, 1925. "Henry Ford announces that he has offered to purchase for scrapping 400 of the 750 idle steel vessels held by the United States Shipping Board, provided the government sets a price he considers fair."

May 27, 1925. "Fifty-nine miners are killed by an explosion in the Carolina Coal Company's mine near Coal Glen, North Carolina."

It is not known to what extent the selection of items for this summary is impartial. It is conceivable that the persons making the selection might deliberately or unknowingly give preference to certain kinds of items and omit other types. Such partiality is not apparent. The record contains a seemingly dispassionate account of events; certainly a wide range of topics is included.

METHOD OF ANALYSIS OF NEWS SUMMARY

Since this record of "Current Events" is so summarized and dispassionate, the problems inherent in the events reported are not explicitly indicated. Considerable interpretation on the part of the writer was required. While this interpretation was of a simple kind, and was kept at a minimum, its existence should be recognized. Its nature may be indicated by a few examples. The items quoted in Table III were interpreted, respectively, as follows:

January 11, 1924. The problem of determining how many immigrants to admit, and upon what bases to select them.
April 3, 1925. The problem of child labor. Should authority to regulate it be given the government through constitutional amendment?
April 25, 1925. Issue: Should the United States join the World Court?
May 13, 1925. The problem of determining what disposition shall be made of the government merchant ships built during the war.
May 27, 1925. The problem of preventing industrial accidents and safeguarding the lives and health of workmen.

Each item (problem or issue) so secured was written upon a slip of paper which was stamped with the date of the periodical. These slips were classified and the problems amalgamated in the manner to be described in this chapter.

The summary of events in the *Literary Digest* is divided into two parts. One part deals with foreign affairs and is headed "Foreign," the other deals with events in America and is headed "Domestic." Only the part dealing with American affairs was analyzed, since the determination of international problems in which the United States is not directly concerned was not the aim of the study. Items relating to the relations of the United States with other countries are included under the "Domestic" summary. The domestic news summary in every issue of the *Literary Digest* for the six years from January 1920 to December 1925 was analyzed. This included a total of 312 issues. The events of the years previous to 1920 were so abnormal because of the war that it was not considered advisable to analyze summaries of earlier years. The results show that many of the events of 1920 reflect war influences. The total number of slips filled out, indicating problems or issues, was approximately 1,700.

The slips were sorted and classified in order to bring together all those that dealt with the same or similar problems. Each

distinct problem was then copied upon sheets of paper which were ruled to admit of tabulation of the number of times each problem appeared during each of the six years. Further steps in the utilization of these data will be described somewhat later, after the discussion of the second source of evidence concerning the events of daily life is given.

PROBLEMS POINTED OUT BY EDITORIALS OF CRITICAL JOURNALS

The second source of evidence concerning the events of daily life selected for study was the running account of and brief editorial comment upon the events of the preceding week given in four critical weekly journals of opinion: the *Outlook,* the *Independent,* the *New Republic,* and the *Nation.* This source was selected because it seemed to offer a fairly complete record of important events together with an intelligent and critical interpretation of the problems inherent in or indicated by those events.

I refer to the first three or four pages of each periodical which contain eight, ten, twelve, or fifteen paragraphs, each reporting and commenting upon an event of the preceding week or ten days. These I shall call editorial paragraphs. This section is headed "The Week" in the *New Republic.* In the other three periodicals, no name or heading is used.

The topics included in these weekly paragraph-editorials represent a selection by the editorial staff of the periodical from among the list of possible topics indicated by preceding events. Controversial matters especially are selected, as well as all matters which indicate problems. One major purpose of the editorial writer in preparing this material is to take one side of an issue, or to point out a condition which should be changed or remedied, that is, a problem. This is fortunate for our purpose of locating problems.

There is no doubt that each journal is the advocate of particular "causes" and creeds—that it has a special bias. As a result of this, the record of any one journal is likely to be incomplete and somewhat warped. To overcome this effect of selection, four journals were chosen. Each of the four represents a different point of view in its attitude toward political, economic, and social matters. Each would occupy a different point on a scale representing the various shades of conservatism, liberalism, and radicalism. It seems unlikely that any important event in

American life, especially one involving or relating to a significant problem, would escape editorial comment in all four of these journals.

The longer editorials covering one, two, or more pages were not included in the analysis. These longer editorials are much fewer in number and discuss in greater detail a smaller number of topics or problems. The topics and problems therein discussed are, on the whole, of the same type as those receiving briefer mention in the paragraph-editorials; frequently they are elaborations of the same problems. Since the purpose of this study was not to discover the detailed implications and ramifications of problems, it was considered advisable to omit these longer discussions.

The editorial paragraphs, constituting comment upon recent events and interpretation of the problems involved in them, were utilized in the four journals as follows. One copy of each periodical was selected from each month of the year. This selection was made in such a way that each week of the month was represented by a copy of one periodical. For 1925, that copy or issue of the *New Republic* for each month dated from the first to the seventh was selected. For the *Outlook,* the dates were from the eighth to the fourteenth. The copies of the *Nation* falling between the fifteenth and twenty-first and of the *Independent* from the twenty-second to the twenty-eighth were utilized. For 1923, the same order was followed, but the *Outlook* selected was that of the first week, the *Nation* was that of the second week, and so on. For 1921, the selection was the *Nation* for the first week, the *Independent* [1] for the second week, etc. In this way twelve issues of each periodical were utilized for each of the three years, 1921, 1923, and 1925. This represents a total of forty-eight issues a year, or one hundred and forty-four issues for the three years. The selection of periodicals, for the five-year period 1920-1925, is shown in Table IV.

Including the three hundred and twelve issues of the *Literary Digest,* the grand total of copies of periodicals utilized is four hundred fifty-six.

[1] During 1921 and a part of 1923, the *Independent* was published bi-weekly. In those cases in which no copy appeared during the week set aside for this periodical, the copy from the next succeeding week was selected. Whenever this was done, the copy of the *New Republic* for the week which is indicated for the *Independent* was used instead of the copy indicated for the *New Republic.*

TABLE IV

DISTRIBUTION OF PERIODICALS SELECTED FOR ANALYSIS

PERIODICAL	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	TOTAL ISSUES
Literary Digest...	52 issues; every week	52 issues; every week	52 issues; every week	52 issues; every week	52 issues; every week	52 issues; every week	312
Nation.....		12 issues; first week		12 issues; second week		12 issues; third week	36
Independent.....		12 issues; second week		12 issues; third week		12 issues; fourth week	36
New Republic....		12 issues; third week		12 issues; fourth week		12 issues; first week	36
Outlook.....		12 issues; fourth week		12 issues; first week		12 issues; second week	36
Total Issues.	52	100	52	100	52	100	456

TECHNIQUE OF ANALYSIS OF EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS

In the analysis of the paragraph-editorials, very little interpretation was required. It was only necessary to understand the meaning of the comments and to record the problems pointed out by the editorial writers. The effort was made continually, however, to record the problem inherent in the event and indicated by the journal, and not the attitude of the journal toward the problem. For example, if the editorial comment urged government operation of Muscle Shoals, the problem recorded would be: "The problem of determining what disposition should be

made of Muscle Shoals; should it be operated by the government or by private enterprise?" Again, if the journal advocated the United States joining the League of Nations, our record would read: "Issue: Should the United States join the League of Nations?" In regard to matters on which practically all people would be in agreement, the problem was recorded as stated by the journal. Examples are: "The problem of lessening the amount of crime—lawlessness, banditry, robbery, etc." "The problem of securing the appointment of the best men for government positions, with qualifications for their work the determining factor." The writer's judgment did determine whether the form of statement in which the question was recorded should be that of problem or issue. This form of statement is not an irrevocable matter. The reader can, if he wishes, change the form of statement of the problems reported in Chapter V. When used in the curriculum, the form of statement of the problem will probably be changed in many instances.

Each problem secured from the analysis of the paragraph-editorial material was written on a slip of paper, which was stamped with the name and date of the periodical. These slips were then classified and the problems recorded on prepared blanks in the same manner as were those of the *Literary Digest* news summary described above. That is, each distinct problem was copied on a separate line, and tallies were made in the appropriate columns to indicate how many times each problem appeared in each periodical during each year. Each distinct problem or issue was then copied on an index card. On each card were recorded five numbers indicating certain facts about the prominence of the problem. These same numbers are used again after each problem from these sources in Chapter V. The first number represents the total number of different copies of the four critical journals in which the problem appeared. The second indicates the number of different critical journals in which the problem appeared. The third indicates the number of different years in which the problem appeared. The fourth and fifth numbers indicate, respectively, the total number of copies and the number of years in which the problem appeared in the news summary of the *Literary Digest*. The following series of numbers (7, 3, 2—5, 4) appearing after a problem is interpreted in this manner: The problem stated appeared in the paragraph

editorials in a total of seven issues of the critical journals, in three different journals (exclusive of the *Literary Digest*), and in two different years. It appeared in "The Week" in five different issues of the *Literary Digest* and in four different years.

Each of these numbers represents significant information for evaluating the prominence of any problem in recent American affairs. The number of different issues in which a problem receives editorial comment or mention in the news summary is some indication of its persistence and of general interest in it. If the problem appears in more than one periodical and in more than one year, the probability of its significance and persistence is increased. It is not claimed that these measures can be used to determine the exact relative *importance* of problems. They probably do, in general, give some measure of relative importance. A problem which appeared a great many times, in every periodical and during every year, is *probably* more significant than one which appeared only once or twice in one periodical. These measures do seem to indicate with reasonable accuracy the relative *prominence* of various problems during the period concerned.

It was hoped that a more complete summary of facts about each problem could be presented, one which would show how many times each problem appeared in each periodical and in each year. The attempt to do this was abandoned, because it involved the reporting of an amount of evidence which would confuse rather than clarify the matter. Instances of unusual prominence or lack of prominence in particular periodicals or years are pointed out in Chapter IV.

At first the plan was to report two separate lists of problems—those from the books and those from the periodicals. It became evident, however, that a single list, with the contributions from each source clearly indicated, would be more satisfactory to the reader. Consequently, the index cards containing the summarized statements of problems from the books and those containing the problems derived from the periodicals were thrown together before the final list of problems herein reported was written.

CHAPTER IV

ORGANIZATION AND EXPLANATION OF THE FINDINGS

CLASSIFICATION OF THE PROBLEMS

The problems and issues here reported are grouped into four large classes: (1) problems and issues of government; (2) those of industry and business; (3) social problems and issues not relating specifically either to political or to economic affairs; and (4) problems of international relations. The problems in each large class are again distributed under more restricted topics, as is apparent on inspection. The grouping of problems under each of these subtopics was made in accordance with two rules. An attempt was made to present the more important problems and issues first. This rule was violated in some cases, however, in order to bring together problems which are logically closely related.

The writer considers most complete the lists of problems relating to government and to economic life, because, in the selection of books, the effort was made to secure critical analyses of those fields. The periodicals also devote much attention to these matters. It is quite probable, however, that few if any crucial social problems are omitted from the list, for all the analysts whose works were utilized were keenly interested in the social implications of the various topics which they pursued. The problems of international affairs reported are chiefly those in which the United States is concerned. It is probable that most of the major international problems of import to the United States are included, although critiques dealing exclusively or primarily with international relations were not selected for analysis. Many of the books studied did, however, treat of international matters of interest to the United States. The same was true of the periodical matter utilized. It seemed wise to include such problems of this nature as were pointed out. Particular international problems

existing between other nations, which did not in a direct way concern the United States, were not recorded.

RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF PROBLEMS

It is, of course, impossible to present a list of problems and issues in strict rank order of importance. To attempt it would be similar to the attempt to evaluate the relative worth to a person of his heart and his head. Problems are interrelated, and the difficulties and advantages of settling one are contingent upon many factors. Nevertheless, great differences in the cruciality and significance of problems do exist. Some measure of the importance of a problem might be reached by considering the number of people who would be affected by its solution and the degree to which they would be affected. Removing billboards from highways would affect many people, but not so vitally as would a material reduction of the hours of labor of the same number of persons. Again, it would seem of more practical importance, other things being equal, to attack a problem which seems possible of solution rather than one which is apparently insoluble. Also, a problem which promises to become increasingly more serious if not solved, such as the problem of war, would seem to merit greater consideration than one which is waning in significance, as the problem of securing universal suffrage. Assuming equality in other respects, it would seem more important to try to solve permanent problems which endure generation after generation than those which are transitory. Inspection shows that most of the larger problems and issues reported are of considerable permanence.

One of the best indications of the significance of problems and issues here presented is undoubtedly the generality of their recognition in the books studied. The author of each book has attempted to view critically one or more broad aspects of our civilization. In the course of his analysis, he has indicated what he considers the most serious defects in our present society. It seems a valid assumption that those problems and issues which are pointed out by a large number of social analysts, each of whom is regarding society from a somewhat different point of view, are undoubtedly of widespread and vital significance. If the reader will scrutinize the problems reported, he will see clearly that certain basic problems have been recognized by a

large number of the writers. Whether the author's analysis related primarily to political, industrial, or social affairs, certain fundamental problems were necessarily involved in the treatment. The books studied differ in the breadth of view and the range of interest represented. It is undoubtedly true that in some books the author has deliberately omitted from consideration certain problems which he considered important but irrelevant to the theme with which he was dealing. None of the books is narrowly restricted, however, and the majority of them are characterized by a desirable breadth of view and by the consideration of a large number of problems and issues. No one book encompasses the whole field; nevertheless, the range covered by all of the books combined is very great. The judgment of one author may be of greater value than that of another; the writer could not attempt to evaluate that element.

While the number of authors who recognize a given problem is considered by the writer the best available measure of its significance, it should be recognized that this criterion is by no means a perfect one. The number of names accompanying a particular problem in the lists presented depends in part upon the scheme of classification and consolidation employed. If two closely related problems are kept separate, the number of names attached will generally be less than if they are combined.

In view of these considerations, no attempt has been made to present the problems and issues in strict rank order of relative importance. Such a procedure may be desirable in the presentation of spelling words, map locations, and other discrete elements. Consideration of logical relationship, so that related problems appear in proximity, is also a desirable factor in this case.

Consequently, the problems and issues are reported according to a more or less logical scheme of classification. In order to show the generality of recognition, there is affixed to each problem and issue the name of each author who indicated that problem or issue and the page number of the book upon which his indication appears. The prominence of each problem or issue, as indicated by the analysis of periodicals, is also shown. In general, the more important problems under each topic or subtopic are listed first.

When the study was undertaken, it was planned to record the amount of space devoted to the consideration of each problem by

each author and utilize these data as a rough measure of the importance of the problems. This plan was abandoned because this evidence seemed to yield no valid measure of importance. Books, even of the critical type here dealt with, are organized not around problems but around topics. In systematic treatises, the amount of space devoted to the treatment of a *topic* may possibly indicate something of its importance. In the books analyzed in this study, the amount of space devoted to a problem has obviously been determined by such considerations as the complexity or ramifications of the problem, by the author's estimate of its familiarity or unfamiliarity to the reader, by the demands for space of the author's proposed solution—if he has one—and the relation of the problem to the theme of the book and the other matters discussed. If the author considers a problem well known to his readers, he may dismiss it with a brief reference although it be of great importance. For example, the problem of abolishing war. If several solutions of a problem have been suggested, the author may pass them all by as unsatisfactory, or he may discuss each one in detail and point out all of its merits and shortcomings. Frequently, in books of the kind analyzed, it is impossible to state that a given amount of material is definitely devoted to a particular problem. The material of a given page or chapter may relate to a general topic, but may also deal with several problems simultaneously because of their interrelatedness. Or, the material may be entirely descriptive, intended to furnish an historical or a contemporary background for something to come later. Let me repeat that books are not written strictly around problems as such.

PROMINENCE OF PROBLEMS IN PERIODICALS

The frequency of mention of a problem in the editorial or news-summary columns of a periodical gives considerable evidence of the prominence and some indication of the importance of that problem in contemporary affairs. Nevertheless, the validity of this measure is limited by the fact that news value plays a part in the selection of questions for presentation in such columns. If the requirement that a problem shall be treated in more than one periodical and in more than one year be added to gross frequency of mention, the validity of our measure of importance is substantially augmented. This addi-

tion tends to reduce overemphasis on matters of transitory significance and the effect of individual bias in selection of topics. Trivial matters are not frequently treated in either of the sources under consideration. Certain events of considerable duration and having an appeal to popular interest, while events of importance, may, nevertheless, cause a relatively disproportionate amount of recognition to be given to certain problems inherent in those events. The problems of limitation of armament or of disarmament received recognition in editorial comment in 24 of 48 issues of the critical periodicals utilized for 1921, and in 17 of 52 issues of the *Literary Digest* for this year. This prominence was due to the Washington Conference. It is fair to say that this problem would have received very little or no prominence in these sources if the Washington Conference had not been held. The same need for limitation of armaments would, nevertheless, have existed.

Many problems of fundamental significance receive little or no recognition in periodical literature. The reader will note repeated evidences of this fact in perusing the lists in Chapter V. One important cause for this is undoubtedly that the rank and file of the American people have not been trained to think about the basic facts, relationships, and issues upon which our social habits and institutions are built. These fundamental problems are no doubt involved in the clashes of individuals and groups, the efforts at agreement and compromise, the enactment of legislation, the administration of laws and justice, the transaction of business, the production of goods, and the divers phenomena which are called the events of daily life, just as the nature of God and of man and all is implicit in the flower in the crannied wall. But the more superficial rather than the more foundational implications are in many cases revealed to the reader of periodical literature of the type utilized.

The writer is convinced that as a source of the basic insistent problems and issues of the present and the proximate future the analysis of periodical material, whether news or editorial, is of much less value than the analysis of the critical books of pioneer, forward-looking social analysts. Nevertheless, the analysis of periodical material has its values. It indicates which problems and issues are foremost in the public mind. It shows which problems people are at present most concerned with. It supplements the more fundamental list derived from the books. Since the

analysis of periodical material indicates which problems are of public interest, evidence from this source may assist the curriculum-maker and the teacher to organize the activities of the classroom in such a way as to utilize this general interest as an introduction to the consideration of certain groups of problems less well known. To illustrate: consideration of the prohibition issue which is now a prominent one might lead to a study of the desirable limits of governmental control, the relative merits of a rigid and a flexible constitution, and the respective spheres of state and federal authority.

COMPARISON OF PROBLEMS DERIVED FROM NEWS AND EDITORIAL SOURCES

Careful scrutiny of the problems of Chapter V with regard to the indications of their relative prominence in the periodicals shows that in the majority of cases problems which appeared frequently in the news summary of the *Literary Digest* were also prominent in the editorial paragraphs of the journals of opinion. Certain problems were, however, much more prominent in one source than in the other. Items relating to strikes and the settlement of wage difficulties appeared very often in the news column, but only occasionally was an editorial devoted to the matter. The reason for this seems obvious. Strikes and wage disputes are of frequent occurrence in various industries, but the issues involved in the many instances are similar and are on the whole familiar to the readers. Hence, there is no need for the periodical to set forth its interpretation of the matter every time the event occurs or every week of its continuance. The question of federal regulation of child labor was prominent as news because of the proposed federal constitutional amendment. An item relating to this problem appeared in the news summary whenever a state legislature took action on the proposed amendment and, consequently, it appeared in the news column more frequently than in the editorials.

The following paragraphs will point out instances in which problems were prominent in both types of periodical material, and in which some problems were more prominent in one source. These instances will also serve to indicate which problems have been of greatest prominence in periodical literature during the period under study.

In the political realm, the problems of taxation and tax revision, preservation of civil liberties, and treatment of radicals, are especially prominent in both sources. Problems relating to the following topics are indicated more frequently in the news than in the editorial material: dishonesty of public officials, national defense, soldiers' bonus, and tariff. The question of the efficiency of our legislative bodies is indicated frequently in the editorial material, but was not revealed at all in the news summary.

In the industrial world, the regulation of the coal industry and the settlement of labor difficulties of the miners, the improvement of the farmer's economic condition, and the lessening of unemployment and the fluctuating demand for labor are questions prominent in both the news and editorial material. The following types of problems receive more attention in the news summary than in the editorial comment: the regulation of railroads and other corporations, the settlement of strikes and labor difficulties, and the regulation of child labor.

The following social problems were frequently encountered in both sources: prohibition, enforcement and modification; immigration, restriction and selection; the race problem, race violence, legal, economic, and educational rights of negroes; the Klan; the promotion of health and the elimination of disease. Most references to Japanese immigration came in the news summary. The editorials, especially, discussed the problems of the promotion of art and the stimulation of a vigorous intellectual life.

In the international realm are found these questions of importance in both of the sources under discussion: limitation of armaments, abolition of war, allied debts, World Court, relations with Mexico, the rôle of the United States in protecting and abusing the small American countries, our relations with Russia. The questions of the League of Nations and our relations with China received some prominence in both sources, but chiefly in the news columns.

PROMINENCE OF PROBLEMS IN SPECIFIC PERIODICALS AND IN SPECIFIC YEARS

Most problems of importance received recognition in two, three, or four of the journals of opinion. Each journal, however,

stressed certain problems more or less than the other periodicals. The most noticeable of these differences will be pointed out.

The *Outlook* stressed especially the prohibition question, the matter of financial aid to farmers, farm loans, tariff on farm products, the conservation of forests, prevention of fire, development of roads and of air mail, and the promotion of scientific research. The *Outlook* gave little or no recognition to the problems of the press, civil rights, the problems of women, and the relation of the United States to Pan-America.

In the *Independent* considerable attention was devoted to the problems of world peace, international coöperation, the World Court, and the League of Nations, and slight prominence was given to the race problem, to education, and to civil rights.

The *New Republic* frequently considered such problems as: the rights of labor in strikes and otherwise, international coöperation, the League, the World Court, the situation of the American farmer, the preservation of civil rights, and the treatment of political prisoners. In the years involved in the analysis, this periodical gave little attention to the problems of crime and penology.

In the *Nation* prominence was given to the race problem, civil rights, the treatment of political prisoners, and the rights of labor. In this journal relatively little prominence was given to prohibition, public health, and taxation.

Certain problems appeared most frequently in specific years: woman suffrage only in 1920, the treatment of radicals and the application of "gag laws" chiefly in 1920 and 1921, and disarmament in 1921. Post-war problems such as coöperation in the rehabilitation of Europe appeared chiefly in 1920 and 1921. The issue of a soldier bonus appeared in each year except 1925. The number of editorial paragraphs devoted to labor in industry decreased from 40 in 1921, to 28 in 1923, to 17 in 1925.

CHAPTER V

THE FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

I. PROBLEMS AND ISSUES OF GOVERNMENT

Form and Functions of Government

1. The problem of determining the desirable limits of governmental action. To what extent should geographical, industrial, religious, and other groups possess autonomy? In what respects should the individual possess rights secure from government encroachment?

Croly: 191-92
Hobhouse: 89
Russell: I, 230-36
Russell: II, 113, 133, 137, 167[1]

2. Issue: To what extent should the federal government be bound by a written constitution and by checks and balances?

Bryce: 390
Howe: 104-06, 112, 156
Laski: 304-07
MacDonald: II, 52
Zimmern: 160-62
Weyl: 116, 313

3. Issue: Is the British parliamentary cabinet system preferable to the presidential system of the United States? Should the executive be a committee of the legislature? Is the right of dissolution and appeal to the electorate desirable?

Bryce: 57, 461
Croly: 231
Laski: 299, 342
Ireland: 75

4. The problem of determining and securing the most desirable distribution of powers and functions between the national, state, and local governments.

Bryce: 435
Croly: 274, 356
Howe: 104
Laski: 21, 171, 418
MacDonald: I, 120
Russell: I, 227 ff.
Weyl: 298, 314

[1] These names refer to the books by the respective authors as listed in Table I. The numbers following each name designate the pages upon which the problem or issue is indicated. Russell I is *Proposed Roads to Freedom.* Russell II is *Prospects of Industrial Civilization.* Roman I and II following MacDonald refer to Volume I and Volume II, respectively.

5. The problem of devising means of making government more flexible in meeting the changing needs of a dynamic society. (2, 2, 2—0, 0)[2]

Bryce: 25
Follett: 182-84
Howe: 104-06, 112
Laski: 304-05
Weyl: 116, 313

6. The problem of making the Constitution more responsive to social needs and changes.

Croly: 36
Howe: 105-06
Laski: 305
Lippmann: 165
Wallas: 85
Weyl: 108-09, 266-67, 316-18

7. The problem of making government more simple and efficient through reorganization on sound administrative principles with concentration of authority and responsibility. (3, 2, 3—1, 1)[3]

Croly: 343
Follett: 174-76
Howe: 104-05, 112-13
Lowell: 107
Weyl: 117-19, 311

8. Issue: Is a bicameral or unicameral legislature preferable?

Bryce: 405, 410 ff.
Laski: 331
MacDonald: II, 73

9. Issue: Should there be two co-equal and independent legislatures, one dealing with legal and political matters, the other with economic and social matters?

Laski: 335

10. The problem of devising means to secure greater coöperation between the president and the administrative departments on the one hand and Congress on the other.

Bryce: 75, 469
Laski: 298, 349

11. The problem of maintaining complete separation of the judiciary from the executive and administrative departments. (0, 0, 0—1, 1)

Laski: 129, 552

[2] These numbers are interpreted, respectively, as follows: This problem appeared in two editorial paragraphs, in two different critical journals, and in two different years. It did not appear in the news summary of the *Literary Digest*. See page 25.

[3] These numbers are interpreted as follows: This problem appeared three times in two different critical periodicals, in three different years, and once in one year in the *Literary Digest*.

12. Issue: Should the executive have the power of pardon?

Laski: 301

Representation

13. The problem of democratizing our representative system by increasing the contact between representatives and constituents.

Bryce: 65
Follett: 11
Howe: 104
Weyl: 308

14. Issue: Is a legislator properly a representative exercising his own knowledge and skill, or a delegate who merely expresses the opinion of his constituents? (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

Bryce: 54
Ireland: 5, 6, 203, 216
Laski: 319
Lowell: 124, 240
MacDonald: I, 93-94
Zimmern: 165

15. Issue: To what extent should representatives represent the country at large, and to what extent should they be advocates of the local demands and grievances of their constituents?

Bryce: 351
Lowell: 116
Lippmann: 97

16. Issue: Should a representative be required to live in the district he represents?

Bryce: 53
Croly: 325
Ireland: 89
Laski: 318

17. Issue: Should proportional representation be employed? (1, 1, 1,—0, 0)

Bryce: 51
Hobhouse:
Laski: 315
Lippmann: 263, 290
Lowell: 122
MacDonald: 1, 147
Weyl: 316

18. Issue: What should be the basis of government representation: geographical, functional, occupational, joint geographical and occupational? Should producers, consumers, guild, or cooperative societies be represented? Should every group interest be represented?

Follett: 260
Hobhouse:
Lippmann: 261, 264, 290
Laski: 265

19. The problem of eliminating the evils of gerrymandering.

Weyl: 117, 303, 316

Direct Legislation and Recall

20. Issue: Should the electorate legislate directly through the initiative and referendum?

Bryce: 92, 140
Croly: 320
Howe: 104-05, 113
Ireland: 48
Laski: 321
Lippmann: 263
Lowell: 154, 198
MacDonald: I, 44, 92, 95, 104
Weyl: 307

21. The problem of determining what matters can be submitted to direct legislation.

Bryce: 419, 430
Laski: 43
Lowell: 71, 161, 220-21

22. The problem of developing more effective machinery for handling direct legislation, in order to prevent partisan control, and to insure that only important and well-drawn bills will be submitted to the people.

Croly: 329-31
Follett: 177-78, 224
Laski: 43
Lowell: 161, 220-21

22*a*. Issue: Should recall of legislative and executive officials be employed?

Bryce: 149
Laski: 320
Lippmann: 263
Lowell: 148
Weyl: 305

23. Issue: Should recall of judges be employed?

Bryce: 150
Lowell: 148

24. Issue: Should recall of judicial decisions be practiced?

Bryce: 151

25. Issue: Should any or all of the following types of local referendum be used?

a. Reference of a special local act of the legislature to the people of the community affected.

b. Making local application of a general law contingent upon the vote of each community.

c. Local referendum on measures passed by the local council.

Lowell: 193

The Legislature

26. The problem of limiting the amount and kind of work attempted by legislatures to that which is of general public interest and that which they can properly fulfill—relieving legislators of petty matters, private bills, appointments, etc., in order that all laws may be carefully drawn, carefully considered and debated, and carefully studied in operation.

Bryce: 58
Ireland: 51, 80, 84, 92
Lippmann: 11
Lowell: 107, 139, 253
Wallas: 271

27. The problem of increasing the efficiency, skill, and sincerity in the methods of work of legislative bodies—making them truly deliberative bodies, supplied with requisite information and technical skill, giving public-spirited consideration and adequate debate to all bills. (12, 4, 3—0, 0)

Bryce: 58
Croly: 326
Follett: 110
Ireland: 222
Laski: 344-45
MacDonald: I, 110, 126, xx, xi
Wallas: 254, 271, 259
Weyl: 116, 315

28. The problem of devising means to compel legislators to take account of the varied social interests in the nation and to consider the welfare of the whole country above that of sectional and party groups—removing the evils of logrolling, lobbying, and Pork Barrel abuses. (0, 0, 0,—2, 1)

Bryce: 61-63, 411, 452, 483
Ireland: 86, 212, 222
Laski: 133, 367, 431
Croly: 340
Lowell: 64, 119, 136
MacDonald: I, 110-12
Wallas: 256
Follett: 252

29. The problem of improving the methods of work of legislative committees; improving and extending the system of public hearings.

Laski: 353, 365
Lowell: 249, 56

30. The problem of eliminating filibustering and useless factious, obstructive tactics, while preserving freedom of legitimate discussions. (0, 0, 0—3, 2)

Bryce: 345-46
MacDonald: I, 110, 114
Wallas: 255

31. Issue: For how long a term should legislators be elected?

Laski: 320 MacDonald: I, 167, 11, 22

Officials

32. The problem of making public service a permanent, adequately paid expert profession with requirements and safeguards that will attract and utilize in the public interest the best wisdom, experience, and leadership of the country—securing the appointment and election of the best men, with qualifications for their work the determining factor. (9, 4, 3—6, 2)

Bryce: 49, 53, 373, 411
Croly: 274, 328
Ireland: 89, 100
Laski: 300, 319, 393, 410
Lippmann: 31
Lowell: 262-303
Zimmern: 160

33. The problem of securing direct responsibility and accountability to constituents for every act of every public official. (1, 1, 1—0 0)

Bryce: 54, 491
Carver: 116-17
Croly: 125
Follett: 232
Ireland: 75
Weyl: 311

34. The problem of securing in public service the best efforts of the persons employed by providing for reward and promotion of merit and for effective elimination of incompetence. (2, 2, 2—1, 1)

Ireland: 56, 76, 99, 103
Laski: 406
Wallas: 334

35. The problem of determining the most desirable length of term of elected officials. (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

36. The problem of keeping the number of government officials and employees at a desirable minimum. (0, 0, 0—3, 3)

37. The problem of devising effective means of preventing, exposing, and punishing dishonesty, bribery, and misuse of office by public officials. (4, 3, 2—45, 6)

Bryce: 140, 478
Croly: 340
Follett: 159, 171
Ireland: 56, 93
Lowell: 64
Robinson: 221
Weyl: 104, 119

38. The problem of preventing the partisan or sectional abuse

of appointments—removing the evils of patronage. (3, 3, 1—0,0)

Bryce: 94
Croly: 340
Lowell: 64, 69
Wallas: 303

39. The problem of safeguarding government officials from malicious attacks and persecution by dissatisfied groups because of political considerations—prevention of political intimidation and blackmail. (4, 3, 1—1, 1)

40. The problem of improving the civil service in the interest of efficiency and competence; e.g., abolition of the spoils system and of bureaucracy. (4, 2, 2—1, 1)

Bryce: 94, 154
Croly: 334
Hobhouse: 209
Ireland: 98
Laski: 397
Lowell: 297
Russell: I, 242
Weyl: 312

41. Issue: Should the civil service be extended to higher grades of the service?

Croly: 335
Lowell: 297

42. The problem of removing the evils of officialdom: bureaucracy, secrecy, hypocrisy, tyranny, deceit, red tape, vexatious interference, and useless tradition.

Laski: 405
MacDonald: II, 36
Russell: I, 239-40
Russell: II, 129, 132

43. The problem of maintaining adequate supervision of government departments, boards, commissions, and bureaus, to keep them efficient, and to prevent and punish abuses. (2, 1, 1—5, 3)

Bryce: 465
Laski: 370-5

Elections

44. The problem of making elections cheap, and removing the evils of campaign-fund contributions. (1, 1, 1—7, 4)

Bryce: 60, 481-82
Lowell: 138, 151
MacDonald: I, 48, 52
Wallas: 314
Weyl: 105, 301

45. The problem of making elections fair, honest, and safe.

Prevention of bribery, illegal voting, false counting, and other forms of election corruption. (0, 0, 0—1, 1)

Bryce: 50-51
Lippmann: 116
MacDonald: I, 48, 55
Weyl: 166, 303

46. The problem of securing a short ballot. Determining the optimum number of officials to be chosen by popular election. (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

Bryce: 133, 49
Croly: 337
Lippmann: 66, 117
Lowell: 106
Weyl: 117

47. The problem of overcoming the apathy of voters and of getting them to vote. (1, 1, 1—2, 2)

Bryce: 36, 49
Wallas: 297, 346

48. The problem of securing more intelligent, critical action, and independence in voting, and less blind approval of party nominations.

Bryce: 36, 135
Lowell: 258
Weyl: 315

49. The problem of reducing the number and frequency of elections. Determining the most desirable frequency of elections.

Bryce: 135

50. Issue: Should municipal, state and national elections be held simultaneously or separately?

Bryce: 52
Lippmann: 263

51. The problem of making our methods of political nominations more simple, democratic, and direct.

Bryce: 34, 153
Howe: 108
Weyl: 117, 305

52. Issue: Should the direct primary be employed? For all elective offices? (0, 0, 0—1, 1)

Croly: 343
Lowell: 149
MacDonald: I, 139

53. Issue: Should the voters pass judgment primarily upon issues or men?

Lowell: 76

54. Issue: Should an educational qualification for voting be imposed?

Bryce: 48
Ireland: 226, 38

55. Issue: Should the franchise be extended to women? (0, 0, 0—19, 1)

Bryce: 48
MacDonald: I, 47, 63
Wallas: 345
Weyl: 303

56. The problem of determining how soon and under what conditions the franchise should be given to immigrants.

Bryce: 48

Political Parties

57. The problem of democratizing the party; removing its secrecy and irresponsibility. Abolishing the professional politician, the evils of boss control and professional machine politics.

Bryce: 27, 44-5, 155, 453
Croly: 121-25, 340
Follett: 167, 221
Howe: 108
Ireland: 67, 85, 93, 223
Lowell: 102-04, 138
MacDonald: I, 119
MacDonald: II, 15, 27
Weyl: 104-06, 119, 308

58. The problem of insuring that parties shall represent real issues in our national life, and that they shall frame the essential issues in such a way that the people have a real opportunity to make decisions at elections.

Follett: 189
Hobhouse: 221
Howe: 112
Lowell: 96
MacDonald: II, 7

59. Issue: How many parties can profitably exist in the state at one time? Two-party system versus the group system.

MacDonald: II, 17-19

60. The problem of determining the best method of selection of party candidates. (0, 0, 0—1, 1)

61. The problem of developing a new liberal party in the United States. (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

Public Opinion

62. The problem of developing an enlightened, progressive, re-

sponsible, alert, organized, and effective public opinion, based upon knowledge of facts, and representing in so far as possible an integration of the various interests of all groups.

Croly: 131
Follett: 147, 219, 226
Hobhouse: 218, 221
Laski: 85
Webb: 192
Weyl: 136-7

63. The problem of insuring that public opinion shall be carried into effect in government and that representatives and officials shall be at all times under the control of public opinion.

Croly: 176, 194
Laski: 80-1
Lowell: 239
MacDonald: I, 127
Russell: I, 242
Weyl: 119

64. The problem of determining the limits of the subjects to which public opinion can apply, and limiting the questions which are referred to public opinion to those on which intelligent popular action can be expected.

Ireland: 246
Lowell: 44, 50, 53, 105-8, 144, 240

65. The problem of protecting the agencies of public opinion from control and exploitation by particular individuals, groups, and classes. (2, 2, 2—1, 1)

Howe: 75
Hobson: 246-52
Ireland: 91, 243

66. The problem of preventing the falsification of public opinion by political parties.

Lowell: 48

67. The problem of increasing the facilities for open forum discussion of and exchange of opinion about social, political, economic, and international matters. (2, 2, 2—0, 0)

Follett: 209
Wallas: 245
Weyl: 134

Social Legislation

68. Issue: Should the state regulate working conditions and hours of labor?

Bryce: 529
Croly: 385, 393
Hobhouse: 215
Laski: 111
Weyl: 111, 326

69. Issue: Should the state establish minimum wages in some or all industries? For all workers? For women workers? (3, 1, 2—0, 0)

Hobhouse: 215
Hobson: 468
Laski: 110
Weyl: 326

70. The problem of protecting workers through old age, accident, and sickness compensation, insurance, or pensions. Should the state provide such protection? (0, 0, 0—2, 2)

Follett: 107, 182-84
Hobhouse: 184
Laski: 520
Weyl: 111, 167, 273, 293

71. Issue: Should the government aid mothers and children through a maternity bill? (3, 2, 2—2, 1)

Laski: 520

72. Issue: Should the state give financial aid to widows and orphans?

Laski, 520

Class Control of Government

73. The problem of lessening the control of government by the owning economic group. Reclaiming government from the power of the financial and industrial autocracy.

Bryce: 155, 454, 533
Croly: 23, 117, 202
Howe: 127, 150-51
Ireland: 67
Laski: 399
Lowell: 135
Russell: I, 54, 118
Wallas: 10
Webb: 70
Weyl: 77-78, 101, 301
Veblen: 269, 286, 90
Zimmern: 291

74. The problem of lessening the influence of lawyers and the legal attitude of mind in government legislation and administration.

Croly: 132-36
Howe: 123
Lippmann: 29, 97, 113

The Tariff

75. Issue: Should we maintain a protective tariff or free trade? (0, 0, 0—3, 2)

Howe: 171, 228
MacDonald: II, 77

76. The problem of constructing the tariff in the interest of national welfare and to promote better international relations. Making a fair, scientific tariff based on evidence and free from favors for special interests. (8, 3, 3—17, 5)

Croly: 274, 305

Finance and Taxation

77. Issue: Should taxation be used to mitigate inequalities in wealth and to secure greater socialization of wealth?

Carver: 323
Croly: 382
Howe: 128
Laski: 438, 525, 537
Weyl: 111, 163, 295-96

78. Issue: Should the unearned increment in the values of land, railroads, franchises, etc., due to community growth be appropriated by the community through taxation?

Carver: 281 ff.
Croly: 380
Howe: 199, 204

79. The problem of securing wise expenditure of public money without extravagance or unwarranted economy. (7, 4, 3—8, 4)

Bryce: 452
Ireland: 52

80. The problem of reducing the military and non-productive expenses of government. (2, 1, 1—0, 0)

Howe: 129

81. The problem of determining the kinds and rates of taxes: corporation taxes, income taxes, excise taxes, surtaxes, etc. Should tax-exempt securities be permitted? (15, 4, 3—46, 5)

82. The problem of determining the relations between central and local taxation. Should inheritance taxes be collected by the federal or state government? (1, 1, 1—1, 1)

Croly: 384-85

83. Issue: Should income tax returns be public? (1, 1, 1—7, 2)

84. The problem of our national debt. How rapidly should it be paid? (4, 1, 2—13, 6)

85. Issue: Should the federal government operate under a budget system? Should state governments? (3, 2, 2—2, 2)

Follett: 176

National Defense

86. The problem of keeping our branches of national defense progressively efficient. Maintaining efficiency of men and equipment. (7, 3, 2—25, 5)

87. The problem of determining the size of personnel and amount of equipment of army and navy, and appropriations for them. (3, 3, 2—27, 4)

88. The problem of determining the method of control of our branches of national defense, whether unified or multiple control. (1, 1, 1—7, 1)

89. The problem of providing adequately for wounded soldiers; rehabilitation and vocational training. Eliminating waste and graft in the Veterans' Bureau. (5, 3, 1—12, 4)

90. Issue: Should World War veterans be granted a bonus by the federal government? If so, of what amount and type? (3, 3, 2—42, 5)

91. Issue: Should military service be organized on more democratic principles? (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

92. Issue: Should conscription of both persons and materials be employed in case of war? (0, 0, 0,—2, 2)

93. The problem of decreasing the tendency towards militarism in the United States, as shown in militaristic exhibits and maneuvers. (2, 1, 1,—0, 0)

94. Issue: Should colleges adopt compulsory military training? (2, 2, 1—1, 1)

State Government

95. The problem of securing reorganization of our state governments in the interest of simplicity, efficiency, expertness, honesty, and concentration of power and responsibility. (4, 2, 3, —0, 0)

Croly: 317-20, 324, 331-33 Weyl: 313
Follett: 174-76, 231

96. The problem of improving the relations between state legis-

latures and corporations: preventing confiscation of property of corporations or granting of excessive privileges by the state; eliminating undue power of corporations over the legislatures.

Bryce: 79-80, 140
Croly: 319
Weyl: 98-101

97. The problem of improving the type of man in state legislatures and the legislation enacted. Preventing the enactment of trivial, contradictory, unwise, ephemeral, and corrupt laws.

Bryce: 77
Croly: 319

98. The problem of promoting greater coöperation and concerted action of states, through such means as a House of Governors.

Weyl: 315

99. The problem of developing adequate and efficient systems of state police. (2, 2, 2—0, 0)

Croly: 344

100. Issue: Should state charters be inviolable, as in the Dartmouth College case?

Weyl: 114

City Government

101. Issue: How much "home rule" should cities enjoy?

Bryce: 100, 139
Croly: 348
Howe: 108
Lowell: 134
Weyl: 315

102. The problem of securing a simpler and more responsible municipal government. (4, 3, 2—0, 0)

Croly: 349
Follett: 174-76
Lowell: 278
Weyl: 313

103. Issue: Should city government be by mayor and council, by commission, or by city manager?

Bryce: 139-40
Laski: 424
Lowell: 285
Weyl: 313

104. Issue: Under commission government should affairs be managed by permanent experts under the lay commission, or by the commissioners?

Lowell: 285

105. Issue: Should city officials be chosen for specific duties or should they be magnicompetent? Should they be full-time, paid officials?

Laski: 416

106. The problem of securing increased assumption of economic and social functions by the city; including provision for health, comfort, and recreation, and development of music and art. (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

Bryce: 577
Croly: 349-50
Hobson: 414

107. The problem of developing and utilizing research in municipal affairs and promoting coöperation between local communities in the effort to improve the efficiency of city government.

Laski: 427
Weyl: 313

108. The problem of developing civic spirit and keener interest in the local community. Inducing the better class of citizens to participate, and devising means to connect experts, officials, and the people.

Bryce: 100
Follett: 234
Laski: 426

109. The problem of insuring sound financing of cities, to prevent their living beyond their means. Should the borrowing capacity of cities be arbitrarily restricted? (0, 0, 0—1, 1)

Croly: 374

Miscellaneous Problems of Government

110. The problem of promoting a widespread understanding of and interest in political principles, institutions, and problems. Education of the people to a true sense of the proper functions and administration of government.

Bryce: 36, 112, 454-55, 533
Carver: 13
Croly: 33, 51, 419
Follett: 168
Ireland: 5
Lippmann: 4, 30, 68-69, 294
MacDonald: I, 108, II, 2
Rathenau: 10-11
Weyl: 119, 308
Zimmern: 160

111. The problem of guarding against tyranny or domination

of the majority. Insuring that the majority work for the welfare of the whole community, and that they work by persuasion rather than force. (1, 1, 1—7, 1)

Croly: 280
Hobhouse: 65, 225-26
Lippmann: 97
Lowell: 29, 34, 37
MacDonald: I, 80-1
Rathenau: 137

112. The problem of promoting systematic, organized research in political matters, and of developing a science of public administration and statesmanship.

Follett: 19
Ireland: viii, 5, 15, 226
Laski: 370-2, 401
Lippmann: 301
Webb: 191-92
Zimmern: 128

113. The problem of securing and maintaining complete separation of national, state, and local politics.

Bryce: 100
Ireland: 89
Lowell: 87, 133
Weyl: 315

114. The problem of securing complete publicity in political matters. (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

Tawney: 85
Webb: 191-2
Weyl: 311

115. The problem of providing agencies which shall be responsible for pushing forward reforms within the state.

Bryce: 92

116. The problem of reducing the thirteen months' delay between the election and convening of Congress and the four months' delay between the election and inauguration of the president and the officials. (3, 3, 1—7, 4)

Weyl: 117

117. The problem of remedying the statement which may exist when opposite parties control the two houses of Congress or of state legislatures, or when the executive is of the opposite party.

Ireland: 79

118. The problem of determining, and securing general recognition of, the relations which should exist between permanent,

expert administrators and the political officials or lay boards to which they are responsible.

Lowell: 291

119. The problem of determining the powers and duties of such bodies as the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, and the Shipping Board. (2, 2, 2—2, 1)

120. The problem of disposition of government merchant ships. Should they be sold or operated by the government through the Shipping Board? (5, 3, 3—15, 5)

121. Issue: Should the government grant either a ship subsidy or preferential tariff? (2, 2, 2—11, 2)

122. The problem of determining the best disposition of Muscle Shoals. (1, 1, 1—4, 2)

Law and Justice

123. The problem of replacing our crystallized system of law based upon outgrown conditions and the inflexibility and conservatism characteristic of the legal mind and of court procedure, by a progressive, creative system of law, based upon the fundamental facts and conditions of the present social and economic order.

Carver: 335
Croly: 134-36
Follett: 122-30
Laski: 575-77
Weyl: 112, 115

124. The problem of determining the proper relationship of the courts, especially the Supreme Court, to legislation and preventing legislation by courts under the guise of interpretation. Should the courts have power to veto legislation? (4, 3, 3—1, 1)

Bryce: 84
Howe: 113
Ireland: 41-2, 61-3
Laski: 83, 545
Weyl: 110, 317

125. The problem of securing absolute justice, civil and criminal, to all persons alike—rich and poor, black and white. Making the courts accessible and justice swift, impartial, informed, and certain. (6, 4, 3—1, 1)

Bryce: 87, 91
Croly: 23, 318, 344
Russell: I, 247
Russell: II, 127

Hobhouse: 27
Howe: 142
MacDonald: I, 17
Laski: 128, 565
Veblen: 282
Webb: 56
Zimmern: 362

126. The problem of replacing abstract, wholesale justice by carefully adapted treatment of individual offenders, based on consideration in court of a complete record of the prisoner, including his mental and social history.

Laski: 564
Lippmann: 67

127. The problem of insuring adequate legal defense for all persons.

Laski: 566
MacDonald: I, 17
Webb: 56

128. The problem of insuring that juries shall be fairly chosen and protected from corrupting influences or pressure.

Bryce: 89
Lowell: 242

129. The problem of extending the use of Reconciliation Courts and Small Claims Courts and encouraging efforts to settle cases out of court. (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

Follett: 110
Laski: 567

130. The problem of preventing misuse of the judicial injunction and of the charge of contempt of court, and maintaining the utmost freedom of criticism of the judiciary. (3, 1, 2—0, 0)

Bryce: 87
Weyl: 113

131. The problem of removing the abuses of court procedure due to too technical rules.

Bryce: 89

132. The problem of providing opportunity for judicial inquiry into all cases of martial law.

Laski: 558

133. The problem of preventing illegal practices by the Department of Justice.

Ireland: 76

Civil Rights

134. The problem of safeguarding individual rights and civil liberties from subversion in times of peace and of war. Maintaining jury trial, freedom of speech, of press, and of assemblage, etc., against subversive legislation, such as Espionage and Sedition Laws, censorship, and unlawful acts of the Department of Justice. Securing legitimate civil rights and justice to liberals, radicals, conscientious objectors, and war-time political prisoners. (43, 4, 3—15, 5)

Bryce: 532
Howe: 75, 87
Ireland: 71, 198
Laski: 62, 120-26
Lowell: 37, 41
MacDonald: II, 119
Robinson: 192
Weyl: 4, 121
Zimmern: 96

135. The problem of determining what should be done about: radical, communist, anarchist, socialist, "red" activity and propaganda. How drastic may gag laws wisely be made? Under what conditions should radicals be deported? What should be done with their dependent families? (6, 3, 3—35, 5)

136. Issue: Should radical foreigners who wish to visit the United States be admitted? (4, 2, 2—3, 2)

137. Issue: To what extent are Blue Laws, restrictions on Sunday amusements, advisable? (0, 0, 0—3, 2)

138. The problem of maintaining freedom of political opinion for soldiers and sailors. (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

Legal and Judicial Personnel

139. The problem of securing capacity, learning, vigor, honesty, and independence in judges. Inducing the ablest lawyers to offer themselves as candidates for the bench.

Bryce: 86, 385
Croly: 318
Laski: 84-5

140. The problem of utilizing more widely the knowledge of the lawyer to enrich, interpret and adjust our whole social life. Providing in legal education an interest in law as a science to be used in better serving human needs.

Follett: 122-30
Laski: 575-77

141. The problem of increasing the respect of the people for law, and their confidence in the courts.

Bryce: 87
Ireland: 92

142. The problem of freeing the judiciary from political considerations. Should a judge be eligible for political office? Should a member of the party in power be appointed as judge?

Laski: 302

143. Issue: Should judges be elected by popular vote, appointed by the executive, or elected by the legislature?

Bryce: 85, 92
Laski: 301

144. The problem of determining the most desirable length of term of judges.

Bryce: 85
Laski: 301, 549

II. PROBLEMS AND ISSUES OF INDUSTRY AND BUSINESS

Economic Motives, Aims, and Attitudes

145. The problem of reducing economic activity to the subordinate position among human interests that it should occupy. Mitigating our materialism.

Follett: 330
Hobson: 315
Tawney: 7, 44-6, 183-84
Veblen: 377
Weyl: 146, 150
Zimmern: 74, 174

146. The problem of lessening the dominance of the acquisitive motive and the social importance of pecuniary reward in industrial life. Making business and industry a profession devoted to useful production and public service. (6, 3, 2—9, 1)

Carver: 268, 272
Croly: 410
Hobson: 403
Laski: 108, 198
Lippmann: 57-9
MacDonald: I, xviii, 36
Robinson: 223
Russell: I, 172-3
Tawney: 35, 92, 96-7
Webb: 36, 41, 44, 87
Weyl: 151
Zimmern: 262, 283

147. The problem of abolishing special economic privileges which enable individuals to receive profits and rewards dispro-

portionate to their economic services. Organizing industry and business so that profit will be commensurate with excellence of product.

Croly: 115, 196
Howe: 91, 135, 143, 179
Laski: 149
Robinson: 223
Webb: 185

148. The problem of abolishing the tremendous, irresponsible power (without corresponding social purpose) of the private capitalist over the physical and mental environment and over the lives of others. (2, 1, 1,—0, 0)

Croly: 150
Croly: 204
Russell: I, 207
Russell: II, 202
Veblen: 175
Wallas: 10
Webb: 60, 182-3
Zimmern: 197

149. The problem of combating the opposition to invention and progress of vested interests.

Howe: 85
Lippmann: 193

150. The problem of developing a public conscience that will not merely condemn corporations as such, but will blight with social disgrace the individual members of a corporation which does dishonorable deeds, and reward with honor the individual members of those whose deeds are honorable.

Carver: 329

Form of Economic Organization and Industrial Control

151. The problem of securing greater socialization of industry and business. Modification of our rigid conception of private property in the interest of greater social welfare.

Should all property essential to social welfare be socialized?

Should the state own or control all essential monopolistic industries?

Should private property in capital be denied the right to residuary profit and control of industry?

Should the state aid wealth production and distribution and coördinate production and consumption to prevent wastes and depressions?

Should the goods and services furnished free by the state be extended? (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

Croly: 209, 378
Hobhouse: 186, 191-201
Hobson: 406-08
Howe: 187
Laski: 87, 436, 480, 113
MacDonald: I, 53
MacDonald: II, 120, 153-54
Russell: I, 66
Tawney: 22, 63-4, 78, 80-87, 103, 113
Wallas: 311
Weyl: 276-97
Zimmern: 362

152. Issue: Should socialism be adopted? (2, 1, 2—0, 0)

Bryce: 587, 83
Carver: 246
Ireland: 198
Russell: I, 148
Russell: II, 150, 211
Veblen: 336-54
Webb: passim
Zimmern: xx

153. The problem of securing effective regulation of urban land. Should it be publicly owned? Should the unearned increment be appropriated by the community? Should the state make it unprofitable to withhold land from use?

Croly: 373-76
Hobhouse: 191-201
Hobson: 414
MacDonald: II, 119
Tawney: 90
Weyl: 111

154. Issue: Should all industries be self-governing units, so far as their internal affairs are concerned, provided the interests of the community are safeguarded?

Laski: 271, 444
Russell: II, 134-35

155. Issue: Should all great industries be controlled by associations of consumers, by producers and consumers, or by producers, consumers, and the state?

Hobhouse: 186-215
MacDonald: II, 120
Russell: I, 244

156. Issue: Should all raw materials be nationalized?

Russell: I, 71

157. Issue: Should all electrical power be publicly owned and distributed?

Hobson: 415

158. Issue: Should all means of transportation—rail, water, municipal—be publicly owned?

Hobson: 415

The Distribution of Wealth

159. The problem of abolishing functionless and unearned wealth and income. Organizing our political and economic system so that men can acquire wealth in no way except by producing it or its equivalent. (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

Croly: 23, 139, 269, 381, 415
Hobhouse: 153, 170
Hobson: 435-36
Howe: 51, 94, 131, 137, 196
Laski: 87, 196
MacDonald: II, 120
Rathenau: 7
Russell: II, 94
Tawney: 7, 28-9
Webb: 17, 19, 33
Weyl: 152, 266, 295-96

160. The problem of securing a more equal, a morally and socially desirable, distribution of wealth and social income.

Bryce: 585
Carver: 150, 267, 364
Croly: 139, 269, 381
Laski: 161-63
Lippmann: 62
MacDonald: II, 1, 7, 36
Wallas: 293, 297
Webb: 15, 17
Weyl: 152, 266

161. Issue: Should there be definite prohibition of enormous fortunes? Should society determine the maximum that an individual will be permitted to keep, and appropriate the rest?

Hobhouse: 169
Weyl: 277, 295-6

162. The problem of eliminating the political corruption and social inequalities and disintegration of great wealth. Freeing government, the press, education, and the church from the domination and control of the owning group.

Croly: 23, 117
Howe: 150-51
Webb: 36-55, 184

163. The problem of abolishing the inheritance of wealth, or limiting it so rigidly that no persons who are able may live without performing productive work.

Croly: 204, 382
Hobhouse: 191, 195
Laski: 187, 526
Rathenau: 8
Russell: II, 94
Tawney: 90
Wallas: 293
Webb: 21, 39

Business Methods

164. The problem of eliminating from business such wasteful, unfair and unsocial practices as manufacture of "securities,"

overcapitalization, inflation, deception, stock-watering, and manipulation. Protection of stockholders and the public from exploitation. (4, 2, 2—2, 2)

Carver: 334-6
Hobson: 246-55, 311
Howe: 56-62, 85, 197, 200
Ireland: 56
Laski: 477
Robinson: 176
Tawney: 171-3
Veblen: 61, 132, 146, 167-8
Webb: 135-40
Weyl: 88-93

165. The problem of removing the abuses of the interlocking directorate, through which small groups exploit corporations and the public for their own benefit.

Carver: 327
Howe: 20
Webb: 155

166. The problem of insuring that all business and industry be conducted in complete publicity of prices, wages, salaries, profits, and methods of production. (7, 4, 3—0, 0)

Hobson: 404
Laski: 481
Tawney: 85
Webb: 191-92

167. The problem of regulating the investment of capital between industries to prevent both underproduction and overproduction.

Hobson: 306
Laski: 108
Webb: 111, 143-44

168. The problem of relieving society from an excessive burden of pecuniary management. Reducing useless, business transactions, industrial maneuvering, speculation, and unnecessary brokerage transactions to a minimum. (0, 0, 0—1, 1)

Hobhouse: 199
Veblen: 48

Banking and Finance

169. The problem of securing greater socialization of banking and credit. Making credit available to small traders, farmers, small manufacturers and others of little capital but with character, initiative, and labor to offer. Lessening the power of the great banks over industries, railroads, and politics.

Hobson: 470-71
Howe: 56-62, 197, 200, 218

170. The problem of decreasing the export of capital for investment and increasing its investment at home.

Howe: 68, 175

171. Issue: Should the government regulate the stock and grain exchanges? (3, 2, 1—1, 1)

172. The problem of stabilizing exchange. (0, 0, 0—1, 1)

Economic Wastes and Abuses

173. The problem of removing the technical, managerial, and other wastes of raw materials, natural resources, by-products, idle equipment and capital, duplication of plant, labor turnover, unnecessarily long hauls, excessive competition, vocational misfits, lack of incentives and effort of workers. (3, 2, 2—1, 1)

Hobson: 461
Howe: 33, 90
Laski: 196-97, 485
Russell: I, 172
Russell: II, 209
Veblen: 65
Weyl: 144

174. The problem of removing the restraints on production. Furthering free competition. Eliminating sabotage in all its forms, whether restriction of output, destruction of goods, or the sabotage of labor. (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

Carver: 93
Follett: 14
Hobson: 403, 461
Howe: 172
Rathenau: 125
Robinson: 222
Webb: 154, 186, 216
Weyl: 151

175. The problem of stabilizing the industrial cycle, preventing fluctuations in industrial activity with consequent depression, unemployment, poverty and waste. (0, 0, 0—3, 2)

Hobson: 307, 329, 405, 428
Laski: 489-90, 505
Veblen: 241, 263
Wallas: 6

176. The problem of reducing the production of illth; production of socially unprofitable articles and rendering of unnecessary services. Elimination of parasitic industries, and abolition of fraud and adulteration in goods and services.

Russell: II, 209
Tawney: 37-9
Veblen: 64
Webb: 27, 110, 215-30
Weyl: 146, 325

Relations of Capital and Labor

177. The problem of securing greater industrial democracy,

more participation in management and control by the workers. (3, 1, 2—0, 0)

Follett: 115-19
Hobhouse: 184
Hobson: 464-65
Howe: 196, 200
Laski: 148, 203, 432, 440-41
MacDonald: I, 16
Russell: II, 102, 184, 191
Tawney: 7, 138
Wallas: 295
Webb: xiv
Weyl: 149, 277
Zimmern: 58, 197, 203, 265, 288, 361

178. The problem of settling labor-capital difficulties in regard to wages, hours, and working conditions. Promoting better faith and more coöperation between the two groups. Should the public participate in the settlement of disputes? (12, 4, 3—71, 6)

Weyl: 277

179. The problem of insuring adequate protection to the whole public in times of industrial strife. Preventing inconvenience, loss, and suffering to the public. (1, 1, 1—1, 1)

Bryce: 578
Hobson: 408
Ireland: 196-97

180. Issue: Should the government fix wages and working conditions by legislation, and prohibit strikes in order to insure continuous operation of industry? (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

181. Issue: Should State Industrial Relations Courts be established? What powers over wages, etc., should they have? (0, 0, 0—3, 3)

182. Issue: Should profit sharing be widely adopted? Will it solve the difficulties of capital and labor?

Follett: 117

183. Issue: Should representatives of labor and management occupy one-half of the seats on the boards of directors of corporations, equally with the representatives of capital?

Laski: 480

184. Issue: Should the collective contract be adopted, by which the employers negotiate for and take over from the employees the total performance of a given body of work?

Laski: 501

Protection and Improvement of the Condition of Labor

185. The problem of so organizing industry that workers will have incentives to devote their full productive energy, intelligence, and initiative to their work.

Croly: 393
Hobhouse: 184
Hobson: 419
Howe: 86
Laski: 108, 465
Tawney: 106-07
Wallas: 337

186. The problem of abolishing as much as possible the dull toil of industry. Making all work as pleasant as possible, and relieving unavoidably monotonous work by alternation with other work.

Hobson: 436
Lippmann: 151
Rathenau: 109-16
Russell: II, 102
Wallas: 327, 332
Zimmern: 67, 184 ff.

187. The problem of abolishing the exploitation of labor; sweating, excessive speeding-up, unnecessary overtime, casting aside of middle-aged workers, preventable accidents, and industrial disease—all forms of using men as mere instruments of production. (0, 0, 0—2, 1)

Carver: 260
Follett: 171, 182-84
Hobson: 134
Lippmann: 152
MacDonald: II, 7
Wallas: 14
Webb: 58
Weyl: 86, 144, 179, 253, 325

188. The problem of reducing the hours of labor—in so far as it is to the net ultimate advantage of the whole community. (7, 3, 2—5, 3)

Hobson: 370-72
Laski: 111
MacDonald: II, 136
Russell: I, 29, 171
Russell: II, 102
Weyl: 150-51
Zimmern: 361

189. The problem of securing for the modern worker greater fixity of tenure, and decreasing unemployment and fluctuating demand for labor. (11, 4, 3—19, 4)

Hobhouse: 186, 215
Hobson: 469
Laski: 106, 520
MacDonald: II, 7
Robinson: 223
Zimmern: 361

190. The problem of raising the standard of living of the labor-

ing classes by insuring to each competent and willing worker the minimum conditions of a civilized existence. (2, 2, 2—1, 1)

Carver: 262, 271
Croly: 205, 392
Hobhouse: 79, 154, 184
Tawney: 35
Zimmern: 361

191. The problem of protecting children from industrial exploitation. Should the government regulate child labor? (2, 2, 2—13, 3)

Follett: 107
Hobson: 405
MacDonald: I, 15
Weyl: 86, 144

192. The problem of insuring special protection of women workers against excessive hours, night work, and dangerous employments. (2, 2, 2—0, 0)

MacDonald: I, 15
Weyl: 349

193. The problem of distributing individuals to the work for which they are specially fitted; insuring that those of training and ability shall be selected by merit; and shifting men from overcrowded to undercrowded occupations and from oversupplied to undersupplied geographic regions.

Carver: 202, 245, 265-67, 350, 383
Russell: I, 95
Zimmern: 182

194. The problem of improving the design and construction of industrial buildings, so that they serve the convenience, welfare, and æsthetic needs of the men who work in them.

Zimmern: 361

Labor Organizations

195. The problem of securing justice in the courts and by the government to labor. Safeguarding the right to strike, preventing unjust use of the injunction, anti-strike legislation, criminal charges, and martial law. (8, 2, 2—9, 3)

Follett: 163
Howe: 124-153
Lippmann: 28
Russell: I, 50

196. The problem of securing greater official recognition of organized labor.

Croly: 389
Laski: 79
Weyl: 293

197. The problem of improving the aims and methods of labor organizations, so they can fulfill a more constructive rôle in industry. Elimination of practices injurious to public welfare. (3, 2, 2—13, 4)

Croly: 389 Lippmann: 28

198. Issue: Should the American Federation of Labor be nonpartisan or political? (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

199. Issue: Should negro workers have full and equal membership in unions? (1, 1, 1—1, 1)

200. Issue: Should unions be held responsible for damage suffered by employers because of strike? (1, 1, 1—1, 1)

201. Issue: Should unions limit the right of an employer to purchase materials wherever he chooses? (0, 0, 0—1, 1)

202. Issue: One big union? (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

203. Issue: Closed versus open shop? (1, 1, 1—4, 2)

204. Issue: Company unions versus labor unions? (3, 3, 2—0, 0)

205. Issue: Should the following practices regarding labor be followed: (1) Minimum of work and pay be decided by collective bargaining; maximum by individual arrangement? (2) Should the union artificially restrict the labor supply?

Croly: 391

Production of Goods and Development of Resources

206. The problem of increasing the national and per-capita output of wealth. Improving technical methods of production and increasing the amount of capital goods. (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

Carver: 52, 223, 267
Hobson: passim
Lippmann: 62
Robinson: 175
Russell: II, 87
Tawney: 32
Webb: 87

207. The problem of overcoming the handicaps of distance, storms, and seasons.

Weyl: 203 Zimmern: 141

208. The problem of providing research and inquiry for the improvement of the standards of service in the various trades and industries.

Laski: 160

209. The problem of securing standardization of industry: in wages, hours, physical conditions, in technique of manufacture, and in distribution.

Laski: 493

210. The problem of developing hydro-electric power. Harnessing and unifying the power of waterfalls, and (eventually) tides. (5, 4, 1—2, 2)

Carver: 277 Howe: 67-8

211. The problem of developing and maintaining a national system of good roads, serving inter-state and intra-state needs. (3, 2, 3—5, 2)

Howe: 67-8

212. The problem of developing inland waterways. (0, 0, 0—1, 1)

Howe: 67-8

213. Issue: Should the United States coöperate with Canada to build a Great Lakes-St. Lawrence, deep sea waterway? (1, 1, 1—4, 4)

214. The problem of developing commercial aviation: airplane and dirigible. Should the government aid this development through air mail or research along this line? (8, 4, 3—4, 3)

215. The problem of land reclamation. (0, 0, 0—1, 1)

216. The problem of encouraging inventions to improve navigation. Should the government finance research along this line? (0, 0, 0—1, 1)

217. The problem of developing greater rubber production by the United States. (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

Conservation

218. The problem of conservation of natural resources. Pre-

venting wasteful exploitation, and damage by fire, flooding, etc., of forests, land, coal, metals, oil, gas, watersheds, rivers, water power, fish, fur-bearing and food animals, migrating birds, natural beauties, and encouraging timber growth, provision for spawning grounds, and general replacement of replaceable resources. (9, 3, 3—20, 4)

Follett: 170
Howe: 33, 90
Russell: I, 70
Webb: 119-21
Weyl: 253, 286

Buying and Selling

219. The problem of reducing advertising to the minimum required by social welfare. Preventing falsehood and deception in advertising.

Howe: 136
Laski: 190, 437
Russell: I, 118
Tawney: 137, 174
Veblen: 51, 60
Wallas: 129
Webb: 140-41

220. The problem of reducing the number of middlemen, mercantile and retail distributors, and the costs of selling, to a desirable minimum.

Hobson: 397
Laski: 190, 437
Tawney: 137, 174
Veblen: 51, 60
Webb: 140-41

221. The problem of developing a system of centralized marketing of all staple commodities.

Laski: 491

222. The problem of developing coöperative stores as distributive agencies.

Laski: 464

Economic Consumption

223. The problem of improving the quality and character of consumption. Abolition of conspicuous display, ostentation, and competition in consumption.

Carver: 9, 259, 276, 379
Hobson: 424-29
Laski: 217
Tawney: 34
Veblen: 325
Wallas: 10
Webb: 21-7, 36-44
Weyl: 246-47, 330

224. The problem of devising means to care for the consumer's interests in our industrial system. Protecting the consumer from extortionate prices and defective products.

Hobson: 267
Laski: 112, 477
Russell: I, 246
Weyl: 250

225. The problem of promoting research and education in the matter of efficient, intelligent consumption.

Hobson: 406
Webb: 31

226. The problem of reducing the waste in consumption caused by extreme dictates in fashion in clothing and by yearly models of automobiles, typewriters, etc.

Webb: 21-7, 143

227. The problem of securing and maintaining a balance between consumption and saving that will yield the greatest benefits, that will prevent gluts, and that will maintain the physical and intellectual efficiency of all classes.

Hobson: 314, 376

Corporations and Monopolies

228. The problem of determining the desirable extent of government regulation and control of corporations and monopolies. Abolition of legal protection of privilege and unfair advantage. Prevention of conspiracies, unfair practices, unfair competition, and price control. Regulation of ownership, stock issues, dividends, wages and profits to safeguard the interests of the community. (2, 1, 1—36, 6)

Carver: 121, 244, 328, 335-36, 339-47
Croly: 35, 115-16, 247, 362
Hobson: 201
Howe: 172
Laski: 162, 436
Webb: 158
Weyl: 24, 94, 277

229. The problem of regulating or controlling municipal monopolies so that they serve the best interests of the whole community. Should they be privately owned and operated, publicly owned and operated, or publicly owned and leased for private operation? (4, 2, 2—3, 3)

Bryce: 108
Croly: 324-27, 373
Howe: 232

230. Issue: To what extent should the government through commissions interfere in the internal management and centralized control of corporations?

Croly: 362, 365, 372

231. Issue: Should corporations be regulated through such means as the Sherman Anti-Trust Laws?

Lippmann: 28

232. The problem of making the responsibility of a corporation commensurate with its power. Making the shareholder responsible for the actions of the corporation.

Carver: 328, 331 Wallas: 294
Laski: 479

233. Issue: Should voting in corporations be by persons rather than by shares?

Laski: 479

234. Issue: Should patent monopolies be abolished?

Howe: 232

235. Issue: Should complete federal control of commerce and corporations be substituted for state control?

Croly: 356

The Railroads

236. The problem of securing development and operation of the railroads in the interest of efficient, economical service, to fulfill the nation's transportation needs. Eliminating their discrimination and control over industry and agriculture. (5, 3, 2—15, 3)

Howe: 21, 36, 67-8, 210 Weyl: 253

237. Issue: Should the government own and operate the railroads? Should it own the road-beds and terminals and lease them? (4, 3, 3—4, 2)

Croly: 376

238. The problem of railroad consolidation. (3, 3, 1—9, 5)

239. The problem of preventing the frustration by the rail-

roads of the development of water transportation and hydro-electric development.

Howe: 34-5

240. The problem of determining and regulating railroad rates, freight, and passenger, and developing a suitable technique for the purpose. (3, 2, 1—22, 5)

241. The problem of determining wages, hours, and working conditions of railroad workers. Establishment of machinery for handling wage adjustments. Determination of relations between government, operators, and unions, and of the powers of the Railroad Labor Board. (0, 0, 0—49, 5)

242. The problem of protecting the public and the mails and maintaining order during railroad strikes. Should strikes of railroad workers be prohibited by law? (0, 0, 0—15, 4)

Coal

243. Should the government regulate the coal industry to insure continuous and adequate supply at fair prices? Should it intervene in crises? (10, 4, 3—40, 4)

244. Issue: Should the coal mines be nationalized? (4, 3, 2—4, 3)

245. The problem of adjusting satisfactorily employer-employee difficulties in the coal industry. Wages, working conditions, check-off, strikes, arbitration, hours, week, union recognition, violence, etc. (18, 4, 3—63, 5)

246. The problem of securing the facts and publicity for the facts regarding the coal industry: ownership, production, distribution, costs, sales, profits, monopoly. (5, 3, 3—1, 1)

247. The problem of improving the conditions of the coal miners; their safety, living conditions, and opportunities for good citizenship. (2, 2, 2—1, 1)

The Farmer

248. The problem of improving the condition of the farmer. Freeing him from exploitation, securing lower taxes and transportation rates and better roads for him. Through what means, if any, should the government extend aid to farmers? Federal

farm loans, price fixing, grain control, tariff on farm products? (18, 3, 3—32, 5)

Howe: 20, 67-8, 139 Weyl: 166

249. The problem of promoting greater coöperation among farmers, in purchasing, marketing, securing credit and insurance, and in combatting pests and disease. Developing better contact between farmer and consumer through coöperatives. (1, 1, 1—15, 6)

Carver: 343

250. The problem of providing an adequate and stable supply of efficient farm labor. (0, 0, 0—4, 2)

Croly: 396

251. The problem of decreasing farm tenancy and increasing farm ownership.

Howe: 148

252. The problem of devising means to reduce losses and uncertainties and increase the financial returns of agriculture. (2, 2, 2—1, 1)

253. The problem of developing agencies for better distribution of information on agricultural market conditions. (0, 0, 0—1, 1)

III. SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Broad Social Aims, and General Problems of Society

254. The problem of making the goal of all effort the welfare, happiness, freedom, and development of all human beings. Counteracting the socially and spiritually paralyzing effects of industrialism, and securing for all persons the conditions of full physical, mental, and spiritual development. Elimination of poverty, destitution, and slums. (2, 2, 1—1, 1)

Bryce: 519-530, 608
Carver: 136, 340
Croly: 17, 62, 209, 392, 422
Follett: 183-85, 370
Hobhouse: 22, 57, 81, 123
Hobson: 421
Laski: 41, 69, 102, 107
Lippmann: 8, 88, 152, 177, 202, 307
MacDonald: I, 7, 12, 13
Rathenau: 8-9, 28, 128
Russell: I, 39, 162, 173, 162, 256
Russell: II, 138-188
Tawney: 47, 84
Veblen: 381-82
Webb: 7, 13-14, 54-5, 189
Wallas: 329, 332, 353-55, 367
Weyl: 24, 130, 166-67, 273, 338

255. The problem of developing a plastic, dynamic social organization, and intelligent modes of modifying our obsolescent habits and institutions to meet inevitable changes. The development of critical and flexible attitudes. (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

Croley: 49, 210, 276
Follett: 99, 290
Laski: 283, 506
Lippmann: 13, 23, 27, 107, 278, 284, 301
Robinson: 136, 198, 203
Russell: I, 54
Wallas: 13, 81
Webb: 222
Weyl: 108, 257

256. The problem of overcoming the inertness and indifference and counteracting the blind optimism of people who believe that social progress is inevitable. Arousing people to grip their problems and make effective their aspirations.

Croly: 15, 17-18
Follett: 212, 235
Hobhouse: 221
Ireland: 11, 25
Lippmann: 48, 27, 30-31
Rathenau: 130
Weyl: 271

257. The problem of securing application of the spirit and methods of natural science to the social sciences. Educating people to attack fundamental causes of evils rather than symptoms and particular persons; to rectify general wrongs rather than mollify individual cases; to substitute positive modes of action for negative restrictions and purgings.

Carver: 246, 364
Croly: 150, 185, 287, 397
Follett: 49, 202
Howe: 196
Laski: 16, 267
Lippmann: 49, 88, 162, 166, 204
Rathenau: 108
Robinson: 16
Veblen: 377-79
Wallas: 43-4, 222
Weyl: 93, 245
Zimmern: 87

258. The problem of securing and using for the nation's advantage the highest type of expert, responsible leadership, in politics, in industry, in the pulpit, in schools and colleges. (2, 1, 2—0, 0)

Croly: 196, 269
Howe: 89
Ireland: 138, 198
Lippmann: 61, 66, 197
Rathenau: 15

259. The problem of developing a free, vigorous intellectual life. Getting men to think scientifically in terms of realities, with tolerance and critical open-mindedness. Combatting prejudice, superstition, casuistry, worship of shibboleths and slogans

and irrelevant analogies, fear of facing facts, credulity, gullibility, and mental laziness. (12, 4, 3—6, 1)

Bryce: 93
Ireland: 11
Laski: 16, 25
Lippmann: 162, 166, 171, 183, 202, 204
MacDonald: II, 94
Robinson: 5, 12, 27, 62, 129, 209, 217
Russell: I, 74, 164, 186
Russell: II, 147
Veblen: 319-20
Wallas: 43-44, 130, 182, 225
Weyl: 273

260. The problem of developing, stimulating, freeing, and conserving creative ability, initiative, and originality, and relating them to worthy purposes in the life of the community. Promoting art, literature, invention, and discovery through direct encouragement and the removal of censorship, restriction, repression, hostility, and fear. (13, 4, 3—0, 0)

Bryce: 519
Carver: 253
Croly: 20, 196, 203, 433
Howe: 79, 181
Lippmann: 112, 148, 152, 302, 217
Rathenau: 28, 128
Russell: I, 158-84
Russell: II, 166-69, 176
Veblen: 377-79
Wallas: 82-3

261. The problem of preventing stratification of society into antagonistic classes, and decreasing class prejudice, antagonism, and exploitation.

Croly: 139, 185, 269
Follett: 40, 217
Lippmann: 317
Rathenau: 7-8, 128
Wallas: 301
Veblen: 317-18

262. The problem of promoting the sense of human brotherhood; mutual forbearance, tolerance, loyalty, good will, altruism.

Bryce: 583
Carver: 53
Croly: 185, 207-08, 285
Follett: 31, 43, 47
Laski: 25
Rathenau: 80
Russell: I, 162
Russell: II, 192
Wallas: 154
Weyl: 161-62

263. The problem of controlling secret, oath-bound, masked organizations which foster racial, religious and class strife and attempt to administer law and government; combatting the violence, lawlessness, and terrorism caused by them. Should such organizations be permitted? Regulated? (8, 3, 3—40, 5)

264. The problem of discovering the laws which govern human nature and applying them to practical affairs; discovering the

deeper demands of human nature and finding civilized satisfactions for them.

Follett: 22, 269
Lippmann: 96
Robinson: 147
Wallas: 18, 55, 182

265. The problem of purifying our social atmosphere by widespread disapproval of extravagance, greed, exclusiveness, frivolity, place-hunting, and vulgar envy; and effecting a simpler life, especially among the rich. Abolishing the average man's emulation of and servility towards the wealthy.

Carver: 52
Laski: 533
Rathenau: 134
Webb: 35
Weyl: 154

266. The problem of providing more leisure and improving opportunities for recreation, for creative, constructive, self-expressive use of leisure. (2, 1, 1—1, 1)

Follett: 101, 213
Laski: 76, 111
Lippmann: 148
Weyl: 330-34
Zimmern: 134

267. The problem of increasing the opportunity for forming acquaintance and friendship and for the formation of wholesome character and habits of life in our relatively impersonal urban life.

Bryce: 108
Wallas: 350

268. The problem of safeguarding the rights of posterity by insuring that all measures designed to regulate or modify existing conditions will be considered in the light of their effect on future generations.

Lowell: 29
Wallas: 55-6, 155

269. The problem of establishing adequate social control over endowed institutions, foundations, and bequests to insure that they render a public service commensurate with their wealth and that they adjust to changing conditions and needs.

Carver: 338
Laski: 530

Race

270. The problem of eliminating race hostility, prejudice, persecution, and violence, and of promoting understanding, toler-

ance, coöperation, and good will between whites and negroes. (19, 4, 3—17, 4)

Bryce: 90
Croly: 344
Follett: 217
Lippmann: 162
Russell: II, 152
Weyl: 180, 240

271. The problem of determining and extending to negroes a just degree of participation in political life. Should they be given the franchise? When and under what conditions? (3, 2, 1—1, 1)

Bryce: 48
MacDonald: II, 90
Weyl: 240, 303, 342-45

272. The problem of insuring full legal rights and impartial justice to negroes. (6, 2, 3—2, 1)

273. The problem of insuring economic justice to negroes; elimination of peonage and economic exploitation. (9, 4, 2—6, 2)

Weyl: 180

274. The problem of improving and extending the educational opportunities of negroes. (5, 3, 1—0, 0)

Weyl: 345

275. The problem of providing better health facilities for negroes; including better training of negro physicians, dentists, and nurses. (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

Weyl: 345

276. The problem of preserving and utilizing the contributions of the negro to American culture.

Zimmern: 81

277. The problem of abolishing religious prejudice, race hatred, and propaganda against Jews. (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

278. The problem of insuring justice to American Indians. (3, 2, 1—2, 2)

279. The problem of decreasing the racial antagonism of whites and Japanese in western states. Should anti-alien land laws be passed? (2, 2, 2—6, 3)

Immigration

280. The problem of restricting and regulating immigration in the interest of the welfare of the whole country. Determining the numbers to be admitted and bases of selection of immigrants. (9, 4, 3—28, 6)

Carver: 261, 346-47, 373 Weyl: 347

281. The problem of assimilating and Americanizing immigrants. Conserving the experience and inheritance of immigrants, while developing emotional and intellectual solidarity between immigrants and natives, and fitting immigrants for citizenship. (0, 0, 0—4, 3)

Follett: 106
Lippmann: 189
Lowell: 36
Wallas: 152
Weyl: 167, 347
Zimmern: 79

282. The problem of protecting and promoting the welfare of immigrants; safeguarding them against becoming the degraded tools of industrialism and corrupt politics.

Bryce: 99
Weyl: 347
Zimmern: 67

283. The problem of securing proper distribution of immigrants in the United States. (0, 0, 0—1, 1)

284. Issue: Should immigrants be examined and selected at ports of embarkation or upon arrival in the United States? (1, 1, 1—4, 3)

285. The problem of improving the methods of handling incoming immigrants at ports of entry. (3, 1, 2—1, 1)

286. The problem of insuring justice to immigrants who come in excess of quota, and to all who must be deported. (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

287. The problem of enforcement of immigration laws; preventing smuggling of aliens. (1, 1, 1—3, 3)

288. The problem of determining the most desirable policy toward Japanese immigration. Should it be total exclusion? If so, by legislation or treaty? Should we coöperate with Canada, Australia, and South Africa in regard to Asiatic immigration policies? (1, 1, 1—14, 3)

MacDonald: II, 92

Health, Eugenics, and Population

289. The problem of eliminating disease and improving the public health (of adults and children), through the promotion of medical research, protection against contagious disease, improved sanitation, and health-giving recreational facilities, and the extension to all of qualified medical service (13, 3, 3—6, 4)

Bryce: 529
Carver: 176
Follett: 106-07
Lippmann: 148, 267
Russell: II, 188-89
Weyl: 2, 166-67, 322, 321-24

290. The problem of protecting the public from injury and loss of life by accident; from automobile, railroad, ship, storm, fire, and flood. (6, 4, 3—16, 5)

291. The problem of insuring the propagation of a sound and healthy race, through the development of high personal standards of mating, and through suitable eugenic means to prevent the propagation of crime and insanity.

Croly: 346
MacDonald: 14
Webb: 52

292. The problem of securing such regulation of the growth of population as will insure a good life and a satisfactory standard of living to all who are born, through strengthening of the sense of responsibility of parenthood and spreading the knowledge and practice of birth control. (3, 2, 2—0, 0)

Carver: 53, 138, 261, 368
Hobson: 434
Laski: 107
Russell: I, 282
Weyl: 321

293. Issue: Should the rapid urbanization of population be checked in order to safeguard our future food supply? (3, 3, 2—0, 0)

Problems of Education

294. The problem of providing adequate, free education from kindergarten to university for all persons willing and able to partake, and insuring such a universal minimum of education as will enable all persons to fulfill their places in society. (0, 0, 0—2, 2)

Croly: 346, 407
Hobhouse: 93
Howe: 84
Laski: 78, 114, 155, 240
Lippmann: 306
MacDonald: I, 108
Robinson: 18
Russell: II, 171
Weyl: 225, 326
Zimmern: 130-31, 362

295. The problem of securing in education a true understanding of the actual conditions and functioning of the social order. Elimination of teaching of false history, chauvinism, etc., and the production of textbooks to accomplish these ends.

Laski: 240
Robinson: 221
Russell: I, 259
Wallas: 153
Weyl: 225-26

296. The problem of developing through education broad social views and motives, and eliminating individualistic egoism.

Croly: 407
Follett: 363-73
MacDonald: I, 57
Russell: I, 249
Weyl: 326-29
Zimmern: 79

297. The problem of securing in education free, vigorous thought, intellectual initiative, honesty, and discipline. (6, 3, 3—0, 0)

Laski: 403, 500
Lippmann: 183, 191
Russell: I, 186, 255-56
Veblen: 383
Wallas: 196
Zimmern: 117, 130

298. The problem of securing in education greater development of the individuality and more respect for the personality of pupil and teacher.

Follett: 54
Russell: I, 249, 272
Russell: II, 197
Wallas: 89-90, 196
Weyl: 225
Zimmern: 11

299. The problem of securing and maintaining academic freedom for all teachers; freedom to tell the truth in all fields. (6, 3, 3—6, 1)

Howe, 82-4
Laski: 531
Robinson: 21, 220
Russell: I, 252
Webb: 71
Weyl: 135

300. The problem of increasing the efficiency of our education through greater knowledge of the art and science of education, by securing the best minds of the community for teachers, and by better training for teachers.

Hobhouse: 25
Ireland: 237
Laski: 15
Weyl: 225

301. The problem of increasing teachers' salaries to a level

commensurate with the importance of their function. (2, 2, 2—1, 1)

Ireland: 236 Weyl: 225

302. The problem of securing wider vocational and general education for workers.

Carver: 252, 364 Weyl: 273
Follett: 107 Zimmern: 117
Hobson: 412

303. The problem of promoting adult education, through libraries, books, newspapers, clubs, and factories. Devising means to continue education through contact with the college after graduation. (6, 2, 2—0, 0)

Weyl: 328-29

304. The problem of determining what provision shall be made for religious education of children. Should state-supported schools attempt to teach religion? (0, 0, 0—1, 1)

Follett: 39 MacDonald: I, 30

305. The problem of securing better, safer, and more hygienic school buildings. (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

Weyl: 225

306. Issue: Should the federal government give greater financial aid to education? (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

Weyl: 328

307. Issue: Should our government have a Federal Department and Secretary of Education, or a Department and Secretary of Education and Public Welfare? (4, 2, 2—1, 1)

308. The problem of securing better education in rural areas. Should there be larger units of administration and greater government aid in rural districts? (2, 1, 1—0, 0)

Weyl: 328

309. Issue: Should a state compel all children to attend *public* schools? (1, 1, 1—2, 2)

310. The problem of eliminating politics and the spoils system from school affairs. (2, 2, 2—0, 0)

Weyl: 225

311. The problem of securing more rapid and widespread adoption of advances and improvements in educational methods. Overcoming the obscurantism, closed-mindedness, and conservatism of school boards. (2, 2, 2—0, 0)

312. Issue: How should local school boards be chosen? (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

313. The problem of eliminating professionalism and debasement of college athletics and the dominance of athletics in college. (2, 2, 2—0, 0)

The Press

314. The problem of freeing the press from the domination of advertisers and special interests, and preventing suppression, misrepresentation, and falsification of news and the use of the editorial and news columns for propaganda. (2, 2, 2—0, 0)

Bryce: 118, 459, 483
Howe: 75, 80
Russell: I, 118
Russell: II, 143
Veblen: 385-86
Wallas: 283
Webb: 66-7
Weyl: 121, 124-27, 131

315. The problem of elevating the tone, ideals, and ethical standards of the press, and securing an honest, impartial, and adequate supply of news. Reducing the sensationalism, excesses of publicity, and glorification of crime and criminals. (8, 3, 3—0, 0)

Bryce: 119
Croly: 164
Howe: 75, 80
Ireland: 104-05
Laski: 86
Lowell: 59
Russell: I, 246
Wallas: 283
Weyl: 128, 133

316. The problem of elevating the tastes and demands of newspaper readers.

Weyl: 217, 130

Crime and Delinquency

317. The problem of lessening the amount of crime and vice, adult and juvenile. Securing recognition of the community responsibility for crime and removing the conditions and handicaps

which cause it. Redirecting impulses to crime by better education. (4, 2, 3—7, 3)

Follett: 107-09
Ireland: 56
Lippmann: 267
MacDonald: I, 17
Russell: II, 118-19
Webb: 131-34
Weyl: 339, 342

318. The problem of securing reformation and education of criminals, delinquents, and incapables through the use of the best scientific, psychological, and humane treatment. Restoring them to usefulness whenever possible; at the same time protecting society and posterity from the effects of social disease. Elimination of retaliation, brutalization, and degradation. (2, 1, 1—0, 0)

Croly: 345
Follett: 107
Hobhouse: 93, 153
Laski: 196
MacDonald: I, 9-20, II, 153
Russell: II, 124-6
Weyl: 167, 341-2

319. Issue: Should capital punishment be abolished? (3, 3, 3—0, 0)

320. Issue: Should the practice of leasing out convicts be employed? (2, 2, 1—0, 0)

321. The problem of securing modification of parole laws and practices to secure sincere reformation of criminals and to effect greater protection of society. (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

322. The problem of overcoming the indifference of the public to widespread violent crime and the mawkish heroizing of criminals by the public. (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

Bryce: 84-90

323. The problem of decreasing suicide. (0, 0, 0—2, 2)

Women's Position, and Divorce

324. The problem of increasing the economic independence of women, both married and unmarried.

MacDonald: II, 149
Russell: II, 196
Wallas: 340

325. The problem of abolishing all civil, political, and legal

disabilities of women, and all inequalities and restrictions that are merely the results of tradition and prejudice. (7, 3, 3,—1, 1)

326. The problem of improving our divorce laws; securing more uniformity. Should the federal government make marriage and divorce laws? (1, 1, 1—2, 2)

327. The problem of insuring adequate care of the children of divorced parents. (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

Prohibition

328. Issue: Should the prohibition amendment or the Volstead Law be repealed or modified? (3, 1, 2—9, 3)

329. The problem of prohibition enforcement. Determining what practices are illegal, and developing machinery for adequate, forcible, efficient enforcement. Securing international and state coöperation. (15, 4, 3—79, 6)

330. The problem of securing the facts about prohibition through scientific investigation. (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

331. The problem of determining what use of liquor shall be permitted on United States and foreign ships. (2, 1, 1—6, 4)

Miscellaneous Social Problems

332. The problem of securing wise, far-seeing city and regional planning. Regional zoning and planning of industries, residences, transit facilities, recreational facilities, size of buildings, width and direction of streets, etc. (4, 2, 2—0, 0)

Follett: 111 Wallas: 356

333. Issue: What is the most desirable size for cities? Should they be smaller satellite centers surrounded by parks and agricultural land? (3, 2, 1—0, 0)

334. The problem of maintaining order and insuring uninterrupted supplies of necessities in our large cities. (0, 0, 0—1, 1)

Bryce: 108

335. The problem of reducing the haste and clutter of life in our large cities. (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

336. The problem of elevating our standards of good manners. Promoting true courtesy, grace and mutual consideration. Pre-

venting the degradation of manners by our apotheosis of profit-making. (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

Webb: 41-5, 181-82

337. The problem of elevating the stage to its highest possibilities as a living presentation of humanity and as a critic of society. Eliminating all that tends to degrade and corrupt the stage. (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

338. The problem of elevating the standards of sport; elimination of commercialism, bribery, and cruelty—to animals and men. (1, 1, 1—1, 1)

339. The problem of providing aid and relief to suffering peoples at home and abroad; victims of famine, war, earthquake, storm, etc. (16, 4, 3—29, 6)

340. The problem of insuring the promotion of pure research. Should the government give aid for pure research? (4, 1, 2—0, 0)

341. Issue: Is private philanthropy undesirable in that it retards fundamental changes for the better? (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

IV. PROBLEMS AND ISSUES OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

War and Armaments

342. The problem of abolishing war and insuring world peace. Harmonizing conflicting national interests; mobilizing the world's peace sentiment. (21, 4, 3—14, 5)

Bryce: 367, 562
Croly: 313
Hobson: 467
Howe: 201
Laski: 599
Russell: I, 4
Russell: II, 139
Veblen: 300
Wallas: 6, 164-75
Webb: 194 ff.
Zimmern: 44

343. The problem of securing international coöperation to limit or abolish armaments, standing armies, and militarism. (30, 4, 3—37, 6)

Hobhouse:
Laski: 590
MacDonald: II, 133
Russell: II, 153
Wallas: 6

344. The problem of eliminating the war danger due to private gain from munitions. (0, 0, 0—1, 1)

Bryce: 484
Hobson: 467
Veblen: 300
Webb: 201

345. The problem of guarding against jingoism, prediction of, and incitement to war on the part of unscrupulous newspapers. (2, 2, 2—0, 0)

Bryce: 484
Russell: II, 143

346. Issue: Should the Geneva Protocol for outlawry of war be adopted? (3, 2, 1—0, 0)

347. The problem of developing and enforcing rules of warfare, regulating use of submarines, chemicals, gases, etc. (1, 1, 1—6, 1)

348. Issue: Should the people exercise a referendum on war? (0, 0, 0—1, 1)

International Organization

349. Issue: Should the absolutism of national sovereignty in matters of international concern be limited by a world organization? (2, 2, 2—0, 0)

Follett: 344-350
Hobhouse:
Laski: 65-66
Russell: I, 77, 89
Tawney: 50
Zimmern: 239, 297

350. Issue: Should the existing system of nationalized states be preserved, or should it be replaced by some other system, such as, international autonomous organizations built on functional lines for specific purposes, or international socialism?

Bryce: 210
Croly: 211, 312
Russell: I, 238
Russell: II, 161

351. Issue: Should a world league be developed which will represent not only states but also international functions, such as industrial, commercial, moral, religious, artistic, and intellectual relations?

Hobhouse: 233-34, 240

International Coöperation

352. The problem of promoting international morality, cooperation, and good will. Making nationalism a constructive,

spiritual, educational, and cultural force; and eliminating its narrow, insolent, selfish aspects, its jingoism, and chauvinism. (5, 3, 2—2, 2)

Bryce: 369
Croly: 313
Follett: 333, 344-50
Hobhouse: 233
Laski: 63
Robinson: 167
Russell: I, 20, 256-62
Tawney: 32
Zimmern: 53, 60, 65, 100, 239, 297

353. The problem of development of rules of international law and the international unification of law. (0, 0, 0—2, 2)

Laski: 229

354. The problem of determining the relative claims of the world outside and resident people to the use of any particular part of the world's surface.

MacDonald: II, 77

355. The problem of determining the location of international boundaries.

Laski: 228

356. Issue: Should tariff barriers be settled internationally? (0, 0, 0—1, 1)

Laski: 229

357. The problem of regulating international migration.

Laski: 228

358. The problem of securing coöperation in the control of international communication.

Laski: 228

359. The problem of developing international labor regulations and standards.

Laski: 538

360. The problem of securing international coöperation in the promotion of public health, and the regulation of traffic in opium and other noxious drugs. (2, 2, 2—3, 2)

Laski: 228
Webb: 131-34

International Economic Problems

361. The problem of eliminating the dangers, abuses, and injustices of economic imperialism. Freeing governments from the control of interests which aim at economic exploitation in other countries. Developing international arrangements to stop conflicts of business interests. Securing free access and equal rights for traders and investors in all dependencies and backward nations. (1, 1, 1—1, 1)

Hobson: 263, 477-78
Howe: 69
Laski: 234
MacDonald: II, 79
Russell: I, 77
Russell: II, 140
Veblen: 293
Webb: 201
Zimmern: 125

362. The problem of determining the rôle of the United States in international coöperation in economic matters. Should the United States participate in economic conferences? Under what conditions should United States bankers be permitted to make loans to foreign countries? (11, 4, 3—6, 3)

Howe: 56, 61, 85

363. The problem of providing a continuous and adequate food supply for the world.

Laski: 538

364. The problem of eliminating periodic depressions in world trade.

Webb: 110

365. Issue: Should those basic raw materials upon which industrial life depends be under international control?

Laski: 538

Control of Foreign Affairs

366. The problem of devising means by which the people may control the general aims, principles and spirit of a nation's foreign policy, thus guarding against unwise acts of officials and manipulation of foreign policy by private business interests.

Bryce: 368, 381-83
Hobson: 478
Zimmern: 44

367. The problem of abolishing secret diplomacy. Providing

desirable publicity of diplomatic matters and of international conferences, and insuring registration and publicity of all treaties. (2, 2, 2—0, 0)

Hobson: 478 Laski: 598

368. The problem of reconciling conflicting laws and treaties. Which is supreme when they conflict? (0, 0, 0—2, 1)

Coöperation Between the United States and Other Nations

369. Issue: Should the United States recognize her intimate relationship to the other nations and offer initiative, leadership, and coöperation, or should she remain aloof in isolation and apathy? (3, 2, 2—9, 4)

370. Issue: Should the United States join the League of Nations, with or without reservations? (5, 4, 3—17, 2)

371. Issue: Should the United States join the World Court? (12, 4, 2—26, 3)

372. Issue: Should the United States coöperate with the Allies in enforcing the provisions of the Versailles Treaty, regarding payment of reparations, etc.? Should the United States support the Dawes Plan? (11, 3, 3—3, 1)

373. The problem of settling the allied debts to the United States. Should they be cancelled or adjusted to the ability to pay? (13, 4, 3—34, 6)

374. The problem of determining the policy of the United States toward China. Should she coöperate with other nations in freeing China from foreign control, in guaranteeing territorial integrity and the open door, and in abolishing extra-territoriality and spheres of influence? (5, 3, 3—13, 5)

Croly: 309

375. The problem of disposing of the United States's share of the Boxer Indemnity. Should it be remitted for the education of Chinese students in the United States? (0, 0, 0—2, 2)

376. The problem of resumption of relations with Russia—Should the United States recognize Russia? Resume trade relations? Secure release of United States prisoners in Russia? (11, 4, 3—15, 5)

377. The problem of securing equal rights and privileges for United States citizens in mandated and colonial territory of other nations (especially oil rights). (1, 1, 1—11, 3)

378. The problem of protecting the lives and legitimate property interests of Americans in countries which lack strong governments. (0, 0, 0—7, 3)

379. The problem of arranging extradition, patent, and arbitration treaties with other nations. (0, 0, 0—5, 3)

380. The problem of determining the rates of Panama Canal tolls for United States ships. (1, 1, 1—1, 1)

381. Issue: Should the United States withdraw recognition from nations because of disapproval of their internal politics? (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

Pan-America

382. Issue: To what extent should the United States supervise the smaller American countries for the enforcement of peace and order, the settlement of disputes, and the establishment of a stable international system? (6, 4, 2—13, 3)

Croly: 299

383. The problem of securing justice on the part of the United States towards the smaller American countries. Preventing the use of the superior strength and wealth of the United States to protect unfair American privileges or properties. (5, 2, 2—0, 0)

384. Issue: Should the United States continue to maintain, with or without modification, the Monroe Doctrine? (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

Croly: 291, 296-97

385. The problem of securing Pan-American coöperation to limit armaments, settle international disputes, and fight disease. (3, 2, 2—2, 2)

386. The problem of promoting good relations between the United States and Mexico; protecting lives and legitimate property interests of Americans in Mexico, while avoiding international friction caused by unscrupulous capitalists. (15, 4, 3—16, 6)

387. The problem of maintaining just relations with Cuba; protecting United States investments, and carrying out the United States responsibilities towards Cuba. (0, 0, 0—2, 2)

Croly: 306

388. The problem of improving relations with Canada and securing her good will; promoting a broad, unselfish policy of free commercial intercourse between the United States and Canada. Coöperation to prevent smuggling of liquor, narcotics, and immigrants. (1, 1, 1—1, 1)

Croly: 304

389. Issue: Should the United States build a canal through Nicaragua? (0, 0, 0—1, 1)

390. Issue: Should the United States ratify the Colombian Treaty and pay Colombia $25,000,000? (2, 1, 1—0, 0)

Dependencies of the United States

391. Issue: Should the Philippines be granted independence? When? (2, 2, 2—15, 6)

Croly: 306

392. The problem of determining the degree of autonomy and the form of the government of the Philippines. Securing thorough knowledge of conditions, and promoting good relations between the Philippine and the United States governments. (4, 3, 2—0, 0)

393. Issue: Should the Open Door policy be practiced in the Philippines, with fair play and equal opportunities to all nations? (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

394. The problem of promoting business prosperity, public health, and education in the Philippines. (1, 1, 1—0, 0)

395. The problem of securing a just civilian government to Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands. To what extent should they enjoy self-government? (4, 3, 2—1, 1)

Croly: 306

396. Issue: Should the United States acquire the Bermuda Islands? (0, 0, 0—1, 1)

CHAPTER VI

APPLICATION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS

HOW THE CURRICULUM-MAKER SHOULD USE THE RESULTS

Many questions face one who would participate in the construction of the social studies curriculum. Under what circumstances should a consideration of social problems be included? In what grades? Should a few problems be studied intensively, or is it more desirable that pupils become familiar with the general implications of a large number of problems? Will controversial issues be raised? How much historical development should be considered in connection with the study of a contemporary problem? To what extent should children's interests determine which problems shall be studied? What other factors, if any, influence this selection? To what extent should material relating to a problem be given in the textbook, and to what extent should pupils be required to seek evidence from other sources? Should pupils attempt to solve problems to their own satisfaction, or should they be taught that they are only beginning to study the field and that their methods of work and attitudes are the more important outcomes?

Let us consider some of the questions involved in the construction of a curriculum in social studies.

This task of curriculum building is an exceedingly difficult one, involving the coöperative efforts of many trained persons. Three technical tasks of major importance are listed by the Committee on Curriculum-Making of the National Society for the Study of Education.[1] These major tasks are: (1) the determination of the objectives of education; (2) the experimental discovery of activities and materials of instruction; and (3) the experimental discovery of the most effective modes of selecting and organizing the activities of the various school grades. In-

[1] *Twenty-sixth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education,* Part II, 1926, page 14.

numerable formulations of the objectives of education have been made from the time of Plato to the present. Many contemporary educationists have drawn up lists of general objectives. The seven cardinal principles of secondary education is a famous list. Bobbitt has worked out a series of objectives in social studies ranging from broad inclusive aims to specific abilities and skills. Harap has presented a number of objectives relating to the consumption of economic goods which he determined by a suggestive procedure. Additional objectives are suggested by several of the other investigations in this field, which have been summarized in the *Third Yearbook of the Department of Superintendence.*

Valid formulations of educational objectives will guide the curriculum-maker. They point out the direction toward which teacher and pupil will move. But they do not define the steps which must be taken in order to move toward the goal.

Teachers must know not only the aims but also the specific activities and materials of instruction which will be most effective in attaining the chosen educational objectives. Bobbitt says the pupil "will solve innumerable social problems by way of discovering the nature, influence, and workings of the various forces which operate in man's affairs. He will discuss social phenomena and problems with his associates." We need to know not only this but *which* problems he will discuss and attempt to solve. One who would build a scientific curriculum must appraise and utilize the contributions of all investigations which offer any guidance in the difficult task.

The best organization of validated materials and activities to attain chosen objectives can be determined only by experimentation. Information regarding the most suitable choice of subject matter and experiences for each age-group of pupils must be secured by experimental trial. Certainly the inclusion in the curriculum of the consideration of complex social problems presupposes a certain amount of historical and factual background and must be influenced by the abilities and interests of pupils. Pupils can, however, be led to become keenly interested in matters which would have remained unknown to them except for school influences. Even junior high school pupils can and do become familiar with and interested in studying important social problems when such work is properly prepared and presented.

Two antithetical factors must be considered in allocating the consideration of certain problems and issues to particular school grades. A better grasp of a problem and its implications will be secured if its consideration is postponed until the pupil has reached a high level of maturity. But the great majority of pupils, at the present time, leave school before reaching such a level. The solution would seem to be that children be trained from the earliest grades to value and to evaluate evidence, to demand the facts on all sides of a question, that they be given progressively as broad and as real an understanding of the social world in which they live as they are capable of receiving. With such a training, pupils of the junior high school grades will be able to study, investigate, and discuss with profit many of our crucial social problems.

The movement to include in the senior high school curriculum a course in problems of democracy is spreading rapidly at the present time. This tendency is eminently worth while. Yet the proportion of pupils who continue through the senior high school is relatively small. It would seem the part of wisdom to initiate such study in as early a grade as possible in order that the majority who leave school after the eighth, ninth, or tenth grades may have as complete an understanding of the social, political, and industrial world into which they go, as possible, and that they may develop interests that will lead them to maintain and expand their limited understanding after they leave the classroom.

HOW THE FINDINGS ARE USED BY THE LINCOLN SCHOOL GROUP

The social science group has been engaged for the past seven years in the construction of a course for the junior high school grades.[2] Several investigations have been made for the purpose of determining what materials should be included in the course. Probably the most essential of these is the investigation of social problems herein reported. The other studies have been designed to determine the following: (1) the important generalizations of causal relationship which exist between social phenomena, (2) the concepts and meanings which epitomize thinking and control action in social matters, and (3) the location of facts which help us understand the stage on which the world drama is being enacted.

[2] This course has been published and used in an experimental form known as *The Social Science Pamphlets*. It consists of twelve books of 250 to 300 pages each; four for each of the three grades, seven, eight, and nine.

In planning the course, the major social problems and issues have, in general, been assigned to the ninth grade, since ninth-grade pupils are the most mature of junior high school students. The problems and issues have been grouped into four large divisions: those of industry and business, those of government, those of international relations, and those of social and cultural life. Facts, opinions, different points of view, and questions relating to the various problems are presented. The pupils are encouraged to examine each point of view, to gather evidence from many sources, and to discuss with one another the implications of each point of view.

The materials of the seventh- and eighth-grade courses are being determined largely by their contribution to an understanding of the problems and issues. The question most frequently asked in judging the worth of a specific unit of material is: "Does it furnish a background for, or contribute towards, an understanding of a significant problem?" The most important generalizations, concepts, locations, and facts are, in general, actually those which lead to an understanding of the contemporary world and its problems. This does not imply that we would have young people, or adults either, see only the shortcomings of our social order. Indeed, to grapple with any social problem demands a wide understanding of social structures and relationships, and forces one to appreciate keenly the rich social heritage which is ours. Such study tends to render one immune to the appeal of ill-considered, superficial, revolutionary panaceas, and at the same time makes one conscious of the value of a progressive, scientific attitude which recognizes the need of modification of social institutions to meet the changing demands of human welfare.

As planned by this group, the seventh-grade course deals primarily with the characteristics and conditions of life to-day, in the United States and in other parts of the world. The course for the eighth grade provides an historical basis for understanding the present. The effort is made to select those phases of past life which are most essential to an adequate comprehension of how contemporary conditions, institutions, and problems have evolved from those of earlier times. The work of the ninth year comprises, as has been stated, definite consideration of important issues and problems which confront men and women in the

collective management of affairs. It is to be noted that problems are not excluded from the materials presented in the earlier years, but it is held that any satisfactory consideration of the problems of society presupposes a certain degree of understanding of the historical antecedents and the present conditions which have given rise to the unsolved difficulties.

It should be added that the more detailed organization of the materials of the course around significant, controlling themes is being carried out, in so far as possible, according to the principles indicated by research into the psychology of learning. Considerable investigation and experimentation have in fact been carried on to discover the most effective organization of activities and materials.

OTHER USES OF THE FINDINGS

The teacher, supervisor, or administrator who wishes to plan a social science course for either a single year or a series of years in the high school may use the list of problems and issues presented here as a guide. The educator may select a group of the problems around which the course will be organized. The problems might, for a given unit of work, be all from one field, for example, government, or might even be limited to one specific group of political problems. Or, the year's work or the semester's might involve consideration of fundamental problems from several fields, as outlined above for the ninth-grade course. The particular selection and grouping of the problem will be determined by the previous education of the pupils and the specific aims of the course.

Another use of these findings might be in serving the needs of the teacher of history. By selecting from the list of problems and issues those which bear relationship to the content of the history course and utilizing them at the proper time, the teacher may increase for the pupils the significance of the historical materials and show their bearing on contemporary affairs.

In a freer type of school, the method may be reversed. The problems can be selected first and historical material can be introduced to illuminate the problems.

It may be that, in particular situations, the pupils themselves, with the coöperation of the teacher, might scrutinize the complete list of problems and issues for the purpose of selecting the

ones which they would like to study. This would probably be advisable only if the pupils were of considerable maturity.

It is expected that those who write textbooks or syllabi for courses in Problems of Democracy or other social science subjects will carefully consider the list of problems presented. This should serve as a guide to them in the selection of the materials which they incorporate within their books.

The statement has been repeatedly made that the teacher or other person will select from the list of problems presented those which best serve the needs to be met. The writer considers that it is not his function to make this selection. He cannot make it, in fact, for the needs of particular situations will vary greatly. Indications of the generality of recognition of the problems in the critical books and in the periodicals will serve as aids in estimating the relative importance of various problems.

It is expected, then, that the results here presented will serve as a guide to any teacher, textbook-writer, or curriculum-builder who wishes to organize a course or courses in social science dealing with current social problems. The increasing recognition of the need for such courses in recent years emphasizes the desirability of this guidance.

The writer hopes that educationists concerned with the fundamental bases of the school curriculum may also find the results of the study suggestive of opportunities and responsibilities for the school as an institution of social improvement.

WHAT PUPILS NEED TO KNOW ABOUT SOCIETAL PROBLEMS

Understanding a problem involves knowing the conditions which now exist that are considered unsatisfactory and why they are so considered. Usually some knowledge of how these conditions came to be will be required. Acquaintance with suggested solutions of the problem and recognition of the advantages and faults of each proposed remedy is another essential. Of great importance is a realization of the rôle which attitudes play in the consideration of problems. Children (and adults) need greatly to learn to value and to practice open-mindedness, and rational, non-emotional consideration of social matters. A recognition that the solution of most social problems is a very difficult matter, and that shallow, doctrinaire proposals are likely to make matters worse rather than better, is a wholesome one. Young people

need to learn to demand factual evidence, to be critical of sources of data, to ask for all relevant and important facts on all sides of the question, to suspend judgment, overrule predisposition, and to sympathize with the points of view of the advocates of each partisan interest. Realization of the fact that unsatisfactory conditions are usually the result of certain forces within and without human nature and are not generally to be removed by the punishment of individuals or the mitigation of individual cases is a valuable aid to clear thinking about social problems. Finally, students must have some conception of how a solution of the problem can be brought about and how they as individuals may contribute to that solution and may lead others to aid the common effort.

Certainly, we must suit our educational presentation of problem material to the abilities and interests of the pupil. Children very early become interested in certain aspects of their immediate environment, especially in those matters which are of personal concern to themselves. As they mature, their experiences and interests widen to include a larger sphere. The environment of an individual in this modern world is vast and complex. Much that is significant to each of us is not apparent to our senses or to our everyday experience. The very fact that it is significant in our lives means that if it were known it would be intrinsically interesting to us. The pioneer could see everything that was significant in his life and was interested in it accordingly. The livelihood and the happiness of the urban dweller, the industrial worker, even of the modern farmer who sells in the world market, depend upon invisible forces—forces of great potential interest to them but, in general, about which they know little. The problem of the school is to reveal these forces to the individual and capitalize his interest in everything that concerns himself. The school must insure that the citizen does not live a narrow life, even if his work is minutely specialized.

Young people need to realize that many of our problems persist generation after generation, and also that in a dynamic society new problems are constantly arising. They must be prepared to face new problems and to attack them in the scientific manner that they have found to be most successful in their school study.

A widening of the horizon and sympathies of men is highly

desirable. The pioneer could safely be an individualist. To-day when world integration proceeds with great rapidity, individualism is criminal. Young people must learn to think in terms of world progress, world coöperation, the welfare of all humanity.

Problems and issues of social life are by their very nature controversial. Just because questions are controversial, because we do not know how to settle them, is the strongest possible evidence of the need for studying them. Such subject matter is excellent from a pedagogical standpoint. The value to society can scarcely be estimated. The words of Kilpatrick state the matter incisively:

> The American people, if we are not to disintegrate through inability to grow with even front, must learn, as hitherto it has not learned, to tolerate the discussion of controversial issues.[3]

Obviously, the school should not and would not desire to give partisan consideration to disputed questions. The school must continually guard against the efforts of interested groups who would use it for purposes of propaganda. To examine critically and discuss freely and impartially the implications of social problems is not a perversion of the function of the school. To fail to do this is a betrayal of trust. The school is the chief agency of social improvement. Whatever influence is possessed by the recommendations of the curriculum committee of the National Society for the Study of Education is definitely pledged to this point of view, as is evidenced in the following paragraph:

> We believe, therefore, that curriculum-makers are obligated to consider definitely the merits and deficiencies of American civilization. In so far as this consideration is in conformity with the dominant public opinion, little, if any, difficulty will be encountered in introducing materials into the curriculum for the purpose of using the school as a conscious agency for social improvement. But when controversial issues are raised in the school curriculum (as they must be raised), opposition may be encountered. At this point the curriculum-maker must take care that the material presented and the treatment given shall be fair to all sides. The chief aim will not be to reach final solutions for such problems—still less to establish any prior chosen position—but to build in children methods of attacking controversial issues and increasingly to develop attitudes of open-mindedness and sympathetic tolerance.[4]

[3] Kilpatrick, W. H. *Education for a Changing Civilization*, page 111.

[4] *Twenty-sixth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part II, pages 15-16.

The members of the younger generation are, indeed, thinking about and discussing current controversial issues outside the classroom. They will, in all probability, continue to do so in increasing measure. How much better, how essential, is it that they also study such matters in the school under guidance which is designed to eliminate misconceptions and encourage impartial, scientific procedures.

But problems do not remain static. Some rise to importance, others recede into insignificance, still others are altered in form as society changes. To what extent, then, can we anticipate tomorrow's developments?

CAN WE PREDICT THE PROBLEMS OF THE FUTURE?

Many of our serious problems seem, like the poor, to be with us always. Each generation, in turn, must face these persistent problems. But new problems also arise. Can we predict them? The writer agrees with Kilpatrick when he says:

> While we cannot be sure of the precise details of future social problems—and for real education it is better so—we can within limits fortell that certain unsolved problems will press for solution.

Is it not obvious that the problems which forward-looking students of society now discern emerging from present conditions and developments will persist to challenge the rank and file for a considerable time? Is this not our best possible means of prediction?

If problems change is our work invalid? By no means! We do not want to equip children with ready-made solutions to all problems, present and future. As has been said, the important thing is to teach them the desirability of attacking scientifically whatever problems do arise. By studying present problems they learn methods of attack, they become familiar with many problems which will persist, and they come to understand the present—out of which the future must develop.

Charters in discussing the building of the future on the present writes:

> The best of this generation must be taught to the next, even though we recognize that the ideals and activities of the next generation will differ in part from those of our own. . . . With the ability to think their problems through for themselves we can trust the new generation to face their own problems with their feet solidly placed upon the structure of the past.[5]

[5] Charters, W. W. *Curriculum Construction*, pages 42-43.

Of course our work will need to be kept up to date. Future studies will be required to determine if new problems have arisen and if old ones have been satisfactorily settled.

WHEN ARE PROBLEMS SOLVED?

The question, when are problems settled, is an interesting one. Apparently, the settlement of one problem often raises several new ones. The abolition of slavery raised a score of new difficulties, such as the determination of the political, civil, and social rights of the freedmen, their education, and their protection from exploitation. The direct primary was secured in order to defeat the control of nominations by professional politicians. But the problem was not so easily solved. The politicians learned to control the primaries, and the problem of preventing this control was as serious as the original difficulty. A teacher of social studies recently asked, "Why should pupils study about immigration? The problem has been settled by the law of 1924." Fewer people hold such naïve opinions regarding the efficacy of legislation to settle all social problems since 1918, when we thought the prohibition issue was settled. Eight years later we recognize how far short we have come of a satisfactory solution. We plunged with enthusiasm into the war to end war. Since its close, we have been equipping for future wars, almost planning for them, and conducting our affairs in such a way as to make them more than mere possibilities.

The number and complexity of social problems have increased with great rapidity since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. Our solutions have not kept pace with their appearance. We have solved many problems only to find ourselves confronted with many more. We have largely met the crying need of sufficient production for all, but we have not found means of insuring that all have sufficient. We create a great social surplus, the *sine qua non* of general social and cultural progress, but we fail to use it to achieve fully that end. Selfishness, greed, vested interests, obsolete ideas, shibboleths, ignorant fear of facing realities, superficiality, indifference—all too often hold us back.

Perhaps the greatest of these obstacles to progress is ignorance. It is, at least, one that we can hope to remove. Problems are never solved until they are settled rightly, and to settle a question rightly demands knowledge and understanding. Here, then,

is the opportunity of the school. "The difficulties of democracy are the opportunities of education." The energy, enthusiasm, and intelligence which high school boys and girls show in grappling with the crucial problems of our society justify an optimistic outlook upon the future.

APPENDIX

TABLE V

NAMES OF SPECIALISTS WHO RECOMMENDED THE BOOKS USED IN THE STUDY

BRYCE, JAMES. *Modern Democracies*

Abbott, L. F.	Munro, W. B.
Becker, Carl	Ogg, F. A.
Beard, C. A.	Rowe, L. S.
Cushman, R. E.	Seymour, Charles
Dodd, W. F.	Slosson, P.
Fosdick, R. M.	Tufts, J. H.
Garner, J. W.	Story, R. M.
Holcombe, A. N.	Contemporary Civilization [1]
Johnson, Alvin	A. L. A. Catalogue [2]
Lippmann, Walter	"Best Books" [3]

CARVER, THOMAS N. *Essays in Social Justice*

Bogardus, E. S.	Thompson, C. M.
Carver, T. N.	Willits, J. H.
Taussig, F. W.	A. L. A. Catalogue [2]

CROLY, HERBERT. *The Promise of American Life*

Cushman, R. E.	Holcombe, A. N.
Farrand, Max	Lippmann, Walter
Frank, Waldo	Tead, Ordway

FOLLETT, MARY P. *The New State*

Ellwood, C. A.	Taylor, G.
Fosdick, R. B.	A. L. A. Catalogue [2]

HOBHOUSE, L. T. *The Elements of Social Justice*

Laski, H. J.	Tufts, J. H.

HOBSON, J. A. *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism*

Soule, George	Contemporary Civilization
Villard, O. G.	

[1] Contemporary Civilization refers to recommendation in the Columbia University Syllabus in Contemporary Civilization.

[2] A. L. A. Catalogue refers to recommendation in the American Library Association Catalogue.

[3] "Best Books" refers to recommendation in the New York State Library's recommended best books.

IRELAND, ALLEYNE. *Democracy and the Human Equation*

Fosdick, R. B.	Holmes, S. J.

LASKI, HAROLD J. *A Grammar of Politics*

Hayes, Carlton	Laski, H. J.

LIPPMANN, WALTER. *A Preface to Politics*

Cushman, R. E.	Contemporary Civilization
Frank, Waldo	A. L. A. Catalogue
Park, R. E.	"Best Books"
Robinson, J. H.	

LOWELL, A. L. *Public Opinion and Popular Government*

Cushman, R. E.	Lippmann, Walter
Dodd, W. F.	Munro, W. B.
Farrand, Max	Ogg, F. A.
Garner, J. W.	Story, R. M.

RATHENAU, WALTHER. *The New Society*

Beard, C. A.	Tead, Ordway
Patterson, E. M.	

ROBINSON, JAMES H. *The Mind in the Making*

Ellwood, C. A.	Contemporary Civilization
Farrand, Max	A. L. A. Catalogue
Willits, J. H.	"Best Books"

RUSSELL, BERTRAND. *Prospects of Industrial Civilization*

Becker, Carl	Tufts, J. H.
Bliven, Bruce	Villard, O. G.
Moulton, H. G.	"Best Books"

RUSSELL, BERTRAND. *Proposed Roads to Freedom*

Holcombe, A. N.	Soule, George
Lippmann, Walter	Tufts, J. H.
Robinson, J. H.	Contemporary Civilization

TAWNEY, R. H. *The Acquisitive Society*

Addams, Jane	Person, H. S.
Commons, J. R.	Robinson, J. H.
Day, Clive	Soule, George
Ellwood, C. A.	Suffern, A. E.
Gleason, Arthur	Tufts, J. H.
Laski, H. J.	Untermeyer, L.
Lippmann, Walter	A. L. A. Catalogue
Patterson, E. M.	

VEBLEN, THORSTEIN. *The Theory of Business Enterprise*

Kallen, H. M.	Walman, Leo
Mumford, Lewis	

WALLAS, GRAHAM. *The Great Society*

Addams, Jane	Gillette, J. M.
Becker, Carl	Gleason, Arthur
Burgess, E. W.	Lippmann, Walter
Chaffee, Z.	Robinson, J. H.
Ellwood, C. A.	Suffern, A. E.
Frankfurter, F.	A. L. A. Catalogue

WEBB, SIDNEY AND BEATRICE. *The Decay of Capitalist Civilization*

Bliven, Bruce	Villard, O. G.
Day, Clive	"Best Books"
Laski, H. J.	

WEYL, WALTER. *The New Democracy*

Cushman, R. E.	Holcombe, A. N.
Farrand, Max	Todd, A. J.

ZIMMERN, ALFRED. *Nationality and Government*

Duggan, Stephen P.	Laski, H. J.
Holcombe, A. N.	

VITA

John Alpheus Hockett, Jr., was born near Hoopeston, Illinois, April 8, 1894. He attended the elementary schools of Whittier and Long Beach, California, and was graduated from the Pasadena, California, High School in 1914. He received the A.B. degree from Occidental College in 1918. The year 1920-1921 was spent in graduate study in the University of California, and the years 1922-1924 in Teachers College, Columbia University. He received the M.A. degree from Columbia University in 1923.

His educational experience includes three years of teaching in California: one year in the junior high school in Glendale, one year in the A-to-Zed High School in Berkeley, and one year in the high school in Manteca. In February 1924, he was appointed associate in research in the Institute of Educational Research of Teachers College, and since that time has been engaged in research and teaching in the Lincoln School of Teachers College. He is co-author of *Objective Studies in Map Location.*

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